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WOMEN TEACHERS IN EDMONTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1940-1950.

by

COLLETTE ALICE OSEEN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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Heather Lysons-Balcon

Supervisor

Harry Garfinkle

Date October 14, 1985

DEDICATION

To my mother,
Harley Katherine Oseen
and my grandmother,
Isa Gillmore,
Both Teachers.

ABSTRACT

The Second World War and its aftermath did not create greater opportunities for women workers, although more women worked, and more married women worked, at the end of the decade than at the beginning. The proportion of women in the professions, and specifically in teaching, declined during this decade.

In the Edmonton Public School System the proportion of women teachers and administrators at all levels stagnated or declined during this decade, despite growth in the system after the end of the War. Women teachers with similar amounts of education and experience were also much more likely to teach elementary school and not to teach secondary or be principals than their male counterparts.

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I. INTRODUCTION

During this century the participation rate of women in the labour force has risen tremendously, but this dramatic change in the gender composition of the labour force has not been matched by an equally dramatic shift by women into all areas of the labour force. Despite perceptions to the contrary, women continue to predominate in jobs with low status, low power, and low pay. Women have increased their participation in the labour force, but they have not improved their position as workers.[1]

Unlike the larger labour force, where the proportion of women has increased, the proportion of women in teaching has decreased. Even within the supposed safety of a female dominated profession, since the 1920's the proportion of women teachers compared to male teachers has steadily declined. From a profession dominated by women at the turn of the century, women teachers are edging towards minority status. They have been unable to maintain their proportion within teaching, much less increase it, although the profession expanded in the post World War II years.[2]

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[1] Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1978), p. 16.

[2] Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, pp. 32-33; Sylvia Ostry, *Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967), p. 28. In Ontario specifically, women are already a minority. As of 1976-77, "of all teachers providing instruction in kindergarten to grade 13 classrooms, women comprised only 49% of this group." Connie Taylor, "The New Masculinization of the Teaching Profession," *Canadian Women's Studies* 2 (1980): 56.

Nor have they been able to move into administrative positions, although the profession has become steadily more bureaucratized. Women teachers continue to be disproportionately concentrated in elementary school teaching and virtually absent in administration.[3] Just as at the turn of the century, women teach and men manage.[4]

Rather than attempt a large scale analysis of women teachers in Canada, this study focuses on a small group of women teachers who taught with the Edmonton Public School Board between 1940 and 1950. Did the proportion of women teachers decline in the Edmonton Public system during this period, as it had done in the rest of the country? Was the concentration of women as teachers and not as administrators, as evident in teaching in general, reflected in this local school board? If these mirror the larger profession, is there any correlation between the proportion of women teachers and the concentration of women in teaching and not in administration?

Data specific to the analysis of the position of women teachers in Edmonton between 1940 and 1950 were collected (see Chapter Four): that is, on the number of teachers and principals by year, (and thus numbers and sizes of schools) and on the amount of education and experience held by teachers and principals. However, the type of data available reflects the dominant ideology which legitimates categories and shapes the nature of the questions that may be asked. Thus data on education and experience invites an individualist approach, and hence an emphasis on supply factors, by virtue of its implicit epistemological bias.

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[3] Karin Porat, "The Woman in the Principal's Chair," *The ATA Magazine*, May/June 1985, p. 10.
[4] Myra H. Strober and David B. Tyack, "Why do Women Teach and Men Manage?" *Signs* 5 (Spring 1980).

Data on education and experience can give some indication about the importance of these supply factors for placement in the school system, for both teachers and administrators. Thus, if they are important, the proportion of male versus female teachers and administrators should be explained by those factors. But if education and experience were not important, then other possible reasons must be considered for the relative numbers of women teachers and administrators, and for the changing proportions of women teachers and adminstrators between 1940 and 1950. Why women were disproportionately teachers rather than administrators, and why women teachers were unable to improve their position proportionately as teachers or as administrators despite changes in the economy, the female labour force, and the organization of the schools themselves are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

The data were collected from a number of sources. At the beginning of every school year the now defunct *Edmonton Bulletin* published a list of all the Edmonton Public School Board teachers and their respective schools. The first name following the name of the school was the principal, followed by the teachers at that particular school. Women teachers were listed as either Mrs. or Miss; men had no title. Thus the *Edmonton Bulletin* provided the names of the teachers, the names of the principals, the level at which the teachers taught: elementary, junior high or high school, or as special teachers, and the marital status of the women teachers, although not of the men.

Files held at Barnett House provided additional information on those teachers regarding prior teaching experience before being hired by the Edmonton Public School Board, type of teaching diploma held, level of education acquired, and birth date. However, it was difficult to collect the data on every full-time teacher who taught with the Edmonton Public School Board between 1940 and 1950, because at the time most of the data was on file cards stored in cardboard boxes, and consistent records had not been kept. Additional information for some of the teachers was also available in the Teacher Retirement Fund files, but the main advantage of these files was that they allowed for cross-checking of information. In the interests of privacy no particular teacher is singled out; the data collected were for quantifiable purposes only. To bring consistency to the large number of different types of certificates which were used, the Department of Education was consulted as to proper equivalencies for the period 1940-1950.

The percentage of men and women teaching by level and by year, as well as the percentage of married women teachers by level and by year were calculated. First of all, this information helped to determine whether women's position within the Edmonton Public School System was the result of their lesser education and experience, as the neoclassicists argue, or whether it was due to gender linked demand, as the segmented labour market theorists argue. Secondly, this information was used to determine exactly what changes in the proportion of male and female teachers and administrators took place during the 1940's, and in light of the previous discussion, to decide whether those changes were due to factors which affected the supply of labour, factors which affected the demand for labour, or to changes in the organization of the school.

To explore these questions, data were collected, first, on the number of male and female teachers and principals by year for 1940 to 1950, and secondly, on the position held (elementary, junior high, high school, or as special teachers or as principals). To assess how relevant education and experience was to position held, data were collected on education (the type of teaching certificate held: first, second or third class), and on experience (the number of years of teaching experience). In order to study the impact of organizational change--the trend toward increasing centralization--on women teachers, data were collected on the number of schools as well as their size.

To contextualize this information, the Edmonton Public School Board minutes, the records of the Alberta Teachers' Association (A.T.A.) Annual General Meetings, the minutes of the executive of the A.T.A. and the *A.T.A. Magazine* for that period were consulted. For a more general overview of the local area, census data from 1941, 1946 and 1951 was used to determine growth in the male and female labour force and also to indicate structural change in the economy. Local newspapers and materials were also consulted at the City of Edmonton Archives and the Province of Alberta archives to provide historical context.

The rationale for this study is threefold. First of all, whereas some work has been done on the concentration of women in certain sectors of the work force as a whole, relatively little research has focused on the changing composition and the division of labour in the female professions such as teaching. Alison Prentice and her colleagues in Canada have done work on women teachers in Canada in the nineteenth century using census data, but little work has been done on women teachers in the twentieth century using employment data. In the United States, work has been done on women teachers and organizational change, but the role of male teachers has been a less conscious focus than in Canada, where organizational change and the role of men has been more thoroughly explored. However, this work has also focused on the nineteenth century in Eastern Canada.[5]

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[5] Linda Kealey, "Women's Work in the United States: Some Recent Trends in Historical Research," *Atlantis* 4 (Spring 1979): 134; Cecilia Reynolds, "The State of Research on Women in Education," *The ATA Magazine*, May/June 1985, p. 44; Carol Shakeshaft, "Women in Educational Administration: A Descriptive Analysis of Dissertation Research and a Paradigm for Future Research," in *Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials*, ed. Patricia Schmuck and W.W. Charters

Secondly, the decade of the 1940's is particularly interesting because for women teachers there was continuity despite change. The gender composition of the labour force and the type of woman worker changed dramatically between 1940 and 1950. However, during this same decade which experienced these changes, the proportion of women teachers continued to slowly decline. The rapid increase in the proportion of women in the labour force was not reflected in teaching. Women increased their proportion in clerical work but they did not increase their proportion in the professions, and specifically in teaching, a statistic that continued into the next decades.[6]

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[5] (cont'd) (New York: Academic Press, 1981), p. 14; Jeff Hearn and Wendy Parkin, "Gender and Organizations: A Selective Review and a Critique of a Neglected Area," *Organization Studies 3* (1983): 219. As Richard Carlson and Patricia Schmuck note: "historically, education has undergone a change in its sex composition--perhaps it will again". Richard O. Carlson and Patricia A. Schmuck, "The Sex Dimension of Careers in Educational Management," in *Educational Policy and Management*, ed. Patricia A. Schmuck and W.W. Charters (New York: Academic Press, 1981), p. 127.

[6] See Sylvia Ostry, *Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967), pp. 14-15. By 1951, for the first time in Canadian history, there were more white collar than blue collar workers. However, although both the clerical and professional areas of the white collar sector expanded, this expansion had different impacts on men and women. Men increased their proportion in the professional area, women in the clerical area. For women teachers specifically, their proportion within the profession declined. Also see Noah Meltz, *Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931-1961* (Ottawa: Department of Labour, Report Number 11, September, 1963), pp. 16-18. In an American study, David Tyack and Myra Strober also note that the proportion of male teachers increased after World War II at all levels of the system. David B. Tyack, and Myra H. Strober, "Jobs and Gender: A History of the Structuring of Educational Employment by Sex," in *Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials*, ed. Patricia Schmuck and W.W. Charters (New York: Academic Press, 1981), p. 134. Valerie Oppenheimer also points out that in the United States,

Thirdly, Canadian researchers into the gender division of labour within teaching and the changing percentage of women teachers have stressed that not only temporal but regional studies are particularly necessary due to the changing context which affects these areas.[7] Alison Prentice and her colleagues have speculated that the reasons for the percentage of women teachers and the gender division of labour in teaching were quite different in urban school districts than in rural school districts, and that even these reasons would vary by time and by regional economy. Although this is a different time period, a different area, and a different economy, a close examination of the spatial and temporal contexts--Edmonton in the 1940's--can bring a better understanding to the complex nature of this phenomenon of the 1940's: continuity despite change.

There are difficulties in interpreting the literature on women and their paid work because it is a relatively new focus within women's history. Only recently have historians focused on this area rather than on women's rights,[8] or

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[6] (cont'd) teaching "appears to be in transition... The increase in the number of men in elementary teaching has been enormous in recent years; between 1950 and 1960 there was a 132% increase in the number of male elementary teachers, compared to a 41% increase for females." Valerie Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force in the United States: Demographic and Economic Factors Governing its Growth and Changing Composition* (Berkeley: University of California Population Monograph Series Number 5, 1970), p. 77.

[7] Marta Danylewycz, Beth Light and Alison Prentice, "The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching: A Nineteenth Century Ontario and Quebec Case Study," *Histoire Sociale - Social History* 16 (May 1983):83.

[8] Margaret Andrews, "Attitudes in Canadian Women's History, 1945-1975," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 12 (Summer 1977):69.

educational historians have focused on women teachers within an economic or even organizational context. As Richard Carlson and Patricia Schmuck note, much of "the literature on educational careers tends too often to be microscopic rather than macroscopic; to emphasize individual psychology rather than broad sociological and historical content."[9] Thus, the study of the changing proportion of women teachers and the gender division of labour within the teaching force needs an interdisciplinary approach incorporating history, economics and sociology[10] because "the origin and maintenance of occupational segregation are the result of interactions among several societal institutions".[11]

A more extensive review of the literature in these different disciplines is found in Chapter Two. Of interest, however, are two common theoretical approaches to the interdisciplinary study of women and work that emerge from the current literature. First of all, there is the individualist approach, which emphasizes the individual and individual motivation. In history this view emphasizes free choice and the pre-emininence of the individual, a view similar to neoclassical economics and the gender model in sociology. Secondly there is the structural approach, which emphasizes an analysis of the structure of the economy and

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[9] Carlson and Schmuck, "The Sex Dimension," p. 127.

[10] Tyack and Strober, "Jobs and Gender," p. 131; Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 1; Danylewycz, Light and Prentice, "The Evolution," p. 82.

[11] Myra H. Strober, "Dimorphics: A Summary Statement to the Conference on Occupational Segregation," in *Women and the Workplace*, ed. Martha Blaxall and Barbara Reagan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 294.

of society. A historical analysis which focuses on structure has a great deal more in common with segmented labour market theory in economics and the job model in sociology.[12] What are the advantages and disadvantages of these two analytical approaches for understanding the proportion and position of women in the labour force in general and in teaching specifically? Furthermore, how can these changes be understood within a feminist perspective which emphasizes gender within a materialist context, and which recognizes the interplay between patriarchy and the current economic system?

Chapter Three is a description of women's overall position in the labour force, focusing on the decade of the 1940's. It begins with a description of the increasing labour force participation rate of women and the changing marital status and age of the female labour force during the 1940's. Then the differential effects of these structural changes for male and female workers are described. Finally, the individualist approach, which emphasizes supply factors, and the structural approach, which emphasizes demand factors, are analysed for the efficacy of their explanations for women's declining position in the professions and specifically in teaching, despite their increasing participation rate in the labour force.

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[12] Patricia Connelly, *Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force* (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1978), p. 2; Kealey, "Women's Work," p. 134; Patricia Marchak, ed., *The Working Sexes* (Vancouver: The Institute of Industrial Relations. U.B.C., 1977), p. 8.

In Chapter Four the position of women teachers and specifically women teachers with the Edmonton Public School Board between 1940 and 1950 is analysed, using the data discussed previously. In Chapter Five possible conclusions are drawn from the preceding analysis of the data as to why women were disproportionately teachers rather than administrators, and why women teachers were unable to improve their position proportionately as teachers or as administrators despite changes in the economy, the female labour force, and the organization of the schools themselves. Directions for further research are suggested, particularly the need to analyse the interaction of class and gender, and to analyse the process of professionalization and its relationship to the exclusion of groups.

This historical study of women teachers with the Edmonton Public School Board has implications that go beyond a deeper understanding of women's position in society as a whole forty years ago in one particular northern Canadian city. In Canada governments continue to emphasize the efficacy of government funded further education and training plans. If it is not women's lack of education and experience that determines their placement within the labour market, then that money is largely wasted. Perhaps it could be better used in exploring the causes for the continuation of a segmented labour market that very nearly mirrors the labour market of 1900, despite a vast increase in the labour force participation rate of women. Most women work outside the home now for most of their lives, but personal autonomy remains beyond most of them when they make less than sixty percent of the average male wage. Ironically, most commentators continue to justify this state of affairs by adhering to a mythical view of women and work that emphasizes individual deficiencies rather than the structure of the economy or the particular structure of an organization. It is with this analysis that this thesis is concerned.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON WOMEN AND WORK

THE HISTORY OF WOMEN AND WORK

In order to better understand the specific position of women teachers in the Edmonton Public system in the 1940's, it is necessary to first review the history of women and the history of women and work. The history of women, and more specifically, the history of women in the work force, can serve several purposes.

First, such a history makes women's participation in the work force more visible as well as illuminates the effects of such participation on their lives. Rather than a representation of the past written largely by men and about men, such a history addresses the question "what would history be like if it were seen through the eyes of women and ordered by values they define?"[13] The individual actions of powerful men or the institutionalization of their values in the work force or in schooling is not the only historical study that is valid. Such a representation of history is too limited and decontextualized. Not only do women need to be included within this male version of history, but the different perceptions of women and what their lives mean need to be addressed in a different way. As Gerda Lerner eloquently phrases it:

> Women's role in the history of civilization has been different from that of men. Women have provided

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[13] Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 162.

> continuity in the building of communities. They have built and maintained institutions and have attended to welfare and human need...If you follow the insight that women have been a central agency in the shaping of civilization, you have to review the entire package of what we call culture, civilized knowledge.[14]

A history of women and work also provides knowledge needed by women for their "quest for autonomy". Women must understand their past in order to change their current situation. A greater knowledge and understanding leads to a greater freedom to act, as Shelia Johannson points out.

> Without (a history) a social group suffers from a kind of collective amnesia which makes it vulnerable to the impositions of dubious stereotypes, as well as limiting prejudices about what is right and proper for it to do or not to do. Being aware of what those who are like oneself have been doing all this time, or what they have been like in other places and times, is often a heathy antidote to stale but vulnerable cliches.[15]

To Lerner, the history of women provides the knowledge that women need for their "quest for autonomy", which she explicity defines as more than a quest for rights and equality. She states:

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[14] Catherine R. Stimpson, "Gerda Lerner on the Future of Our Past," *Ms*. September, 1981, p. 52.
[15] Shelia Johansson, "Herstory as History," in *Liberating Women's History*: ed. Bernice Carroll (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 427.

> The most advanced conceptual link by which women's history can now be defined must include an account of the female experience as it changes over time and should include the development of feminist consciousness as an essential aspect of women's historical past. This past includes the quest for rights, equality and justice which can be subsumed under "women's rights", i.e. the civil rights of women. But the quest for female emancipation from patriarchally determined subordination encompasses more than striving for equality and rights. It can be best defined as the quest for autonomy. Autonomy means women defining themselves and the values by which they live, and beginning to think of institutional arrangements that will order their environment in line with their needs.[16]

This quest for autonomy can best be revealed by an analysis of women in the paid work force, because it transcends the division of life into the public and private, or work and home, and through its analysis of women's position in the paid labour force, confronts the question of how access to resources, in the form of money and power, is determined. How is power acquired and maintained by certain groups, and how is it denied to others? Through an analysis of their paid work, one can examine how women have fared in their quest for autonomy.

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[16] Lerner, *Majority*, p. 161.

Yet the history of women and work requires an interdisciplinary approach in order to understand the participation rate and sector postion of women in the paid labour force. As Myra Strober has noted in her discussion of dimorphics, ("the study of the differences between male and female roles, or the study of occupational segregation, occupation being defined broadly"), the interrelateness between social systems must be explored if the issues surrounding women and work are to be understood. Thus, to a historical study of women and work must be added a knowledge of economic and sociological theory.[17]

THEORETICAL APPROACHES IN AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY

Two predominant theoretical approaches from the current literature used by historians, economists and sociologists will be discussed for their explanatory power as to why women are in the paid work force and where they are. One theoretical approach emphasizes the individual and factors influencing individual choice; the other emphasizes an analysis of the structure of the labour market and of organizations within it. Within the disciplines of history,

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[17] Myra H. Strober and David B. Tyack, "Why do Women Teach and Men Manage?" *Signs* 5 (Spring 1980):293. Strober goes on to state that various questions must be addressed by the researcher; not just "What is the distribution of men and women among different occupations", but "How did this particular set of roles or occupations come to be differentiated or segregated? How is the system of segregation maintained? What are the possible alternatives to the segregated system, and how are we best to achieve the desired alternatives? Ibid.

economics and sociology, a liberal analysis of history, neoclassical economic theory and the gender model in sociology all emphasize the individual, and factors affecting individual motivation as the chief reasons for why women work for pay, and why they work where they do. In comparison, Radical, Marxist and socialist feminist historians,[18] segmented labour market theorists (radical, Marxist and institutionalists) and sociologists using the job model emphasize an analysis of the structure of the labour market and of organizations.

A. THE INDIVIDUALIST APPROACH

HISTORY: THE LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

A liberal analysis of women's place, so defined because it reflects the prevailing ideology of our times, characterizes much of women's history written before the 1970's. Zillah Eisenstein defines liberalism as an idea which emphasizes the individual, who

> is pictured as atomized and disconnected from the social relations that actually affect his or her choices and options...(It) promises equality of opportunity and freedom of choice and explains its

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[18] For explanations of feminist theory see Lydia Sargent, ed., *Women and Revolution: A Discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism* (Boston: South End Press, 1981); Zillah Eisenstein, *The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism* (New York: Longman Inc., 1981); Angela Miles, *Feminist Radicalism in the 1980's* (Montreal: Culturetexts, 1985).

> absence in terms of the inadequacy or inability of the individual.[19]

The role of the citizen and the separation of life into the public versus the private is emphasized, as well as the power of ideas and their ability to change men's habits and lives. Hence, the liberal history of women inevitably focuses on the individual and on individual accomplishments, the result of individual merit and hard work; the attainment of citizenship and its rights and privileges; and the analysis of ideas and the power of ideas on individuals and their actions. Generally, this has not meant a focus on women and work. Instead, it has meant an analysis of individual women, an emphasis on the attainment of suffrage and other rights and privileges inherent in citizenship as an indication of women's status, and an analysis of ideas and ideology as representative of women's status at the time. In Canada specifically, as one writer whimsically observed, this took the form of devotion to "Great Women" and the "Great Event"--the enfranchisement of women.[20]

Analysing women as if they were autonomous actors, unaffected by economic, social or political structures, or analysing women's status in terms of the attainment of the rights and privileges of citizenship, will not uncover women's position at a particular time. Neither can an analysis of ideas as a measure of women's status be considered as an accurate representation of women's status. According to a number of historians, the effects of political, economic and social conditions must also be analysed. They maintain it is necessary to analyse "institutional and structural factors" rather than "subjective conditions and individual choices";[21] and that women's actions should be analysed "less in terms of individual volition than as a response to various social, economic and intellectual pressures."[22] Women act not only as individuals; they are a 'sexual class' and must be recognized as such.[23]

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[19] Eisenstein, *The Radical Future*, p . 114.

[20] Margaret Andrews, "Attitudes in Canadian Women's History, 1945-1975," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 12 (Summer 1977):69.

In addition, the status of women cannot be understood by reference to the attainment of citizenship. In a society organized on the basis of the public, or male sphere, and the private, or female sphere, citizenship may mean little to the majority of women, and hence cannot be the only focus of the historian.[24] Nor can ideology be used as an accurate reflection of women's status, because ideology may not reflect women's actual status at the time, and may actually act as a mystification of reality.[25]

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[21] Patricia Connelly, *Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force* (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1978), p. 2.

[22] Andrews, "Attitudes," p. 73. Also see Eisenstein, *Radical Future*, p. 114. and Susan Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds., *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977), p. 11.

[23] There are a number of problems with an emphasis on the individual, the most important being that its central focus on the individual inevitably conflicts with the reality that women are also a group, a "sexual class", as Eisenstein points out. Eisenstein, *Radical Future*, p. 114. There is an inherent contradiction between the liberal emphasis on the individual and the necessary recognition of women as a sexual class, a contradiction with important implications for the historian because it implies that the study of women as autonomous individuals does little to reveal the true history of the sex. This emphasis on the recognition of women as a sexual class should not be confused with the assumption that women can then be analysed as if they were a minority. As Gerda Lerner points out, "Women are not a minority in any sense. Women are a sex...They, unlike truly marginal groups, are distributed through every group and class in society." Lerner; *Majority*, p. 166.

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[24] As Ivan Illich pithily phrased it, "Up to now, whenever equal rights were legally enacted and enforced, wherever partnership between the sexes became stylish, these innovations gave a sense of accomplishment to the elites who proposed and obtained them, but left the majority of women untouched if not worse off than before. Ivan Illich, *Gender* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), pp. 16-17. And, as Zillah Eisenstein further explains it, the study of the attainment of citizenship and its rights and privileges as a measure of women's status will do little to reveal women's status as a whole, because of the liberal division of life into the public and private sphere. By its very nature the concept of citizenship is male supremist, because liberal society is based on the idea of public and private spheres where citizens who are men inhabit the public sphere, and women inhabit the private, their place there completely necessary to provide citizens for the public sphere. Eisenstein, *Radical Future*, p. 5. The contradictions inherent in liberalism surface when one realizes that within liberalism women are seen as a sexual class, with ascribed rather than achieved status, and that "liberalism is premised upon women's exclusion from public life on this very class basis." Ibid., p. 6. She analyses women's exclusion from the public sphere as necessary for the maintenance of the liberal social system, although this necessity is mystified. She goes on to state that "the problem is that the liberal state can grant equality of opportunity to women in the legal sense without creating the equality of conditions for them to participate. For there to be equality of conditions, women's sexual, economic and racial equality have to be established...legal equality cannot in and of itself establish this." Ibid., p. 164.

[25] Gerda Lerner maintains that the use of ideas and ideology as a true reflection of women's status is problematic, because it may not reflect women's true position; it may more nearly reflect "not what women did, felt, or experienced, but what men in the past thought women should do." Lerner, *Majority*, p. 148. The historian may find that this gap between popular myth and reality may more properly be analysed as "an expression of tension within society". Ibid., p. 149.

ECONOMICS: THE NEOCLASSICAL PERSPECTIVE

A common economic approach to an understanding of the reasons for women's entrance into and position within the labour force has been neoclassical economic theory. Like liberal ideology, this theory emphasizes the individual and the choices which individuals make, or in economic terms, the supply factors which operate to propel the individual in or out of the labour market, and to certain places within the labour market.

Alice Amsden, in *The Economics of Women and Work*, has defined neoclassical economic theory as a theory which takes as its prime analytical category

> the individual. Individuals exercise freedom of choice and behave rationally to maximize utility. Their maximization of welfare, however, is subject to constraints. Income and prices are the major constraints, and are the major determinants of individuals' behavior.[26]

Neoclassical economic theory assumes a perfectly competitive labour market, defined as a "bourse, a place where the buyers and sellers of labour meet to transact their business and where every jobs in the economy is continually open to all workers on the same terms and conditions."[27] Here freely choosing individuals both buy labour, following the theory of maximum utility, and sell their labour, their worth based on freely acquired human capital, or education and experience. Thus, a basic tenet of neoclassical theory is the frictionless labour market, with autonomous individuals making informed choices to either buy or sell labour.

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[26] Alice Amsden, "Introduction," in *The Economics of Women and Work*, ed. Alice Amsden (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1980), p. 13.

[27] Peter B. Doeringer, "Determinants of the Structure of Industrial Type Labor Markets," in *The Economics of Women and Work*, ed. Alice Amsden (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1980), pp. 211-212.

Neoclassicists are most concerned with pay differentials in their analysis of the labour market, because, as both Francine Blau and Carol Jusenius point out, "the monetary manifestations of possible labour market inequities is an obvious focal point for the analysis."[28] In an attempt to explain the differing wage rates between men and women, neoclassical theoreticians:

> have stressed, on the demand side, either the taste for discrimination (women are paid less than men in order to compensate employers for the disutility of hiring women) or statistical discrimination (women are paid less than men to compensate risk averse employers for the less reliable information which is available about women employees.) On the supply side, neoclassicists have relied on human capital constructs (sex differences in pay reflect sex differences in human capital.)[29]

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[28] Francine D. Blau, and Carol L. Jusenius, "Economists' Approach to Sex Segregation in the Labour Market: An Appraisal," in *Women and the Workplace*, ed. Martha Blaxall and Barbara Reagan (Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 182.

[29] Strober and Best, "The Female/Male Salary Differential," p. 218.

Neoclassical theorists maintain that the lower level of human capital attained by women is voluntarily acquired because of their primary orientation to their childbearing role.[30] Unemployment is conceived as voluntary as well.[31] Neoclassical theory rests on the actions of autonomous individuals making choices in a totally open, competitive labour market, the only restrictions on their actions are their own "tastes". Employers, in Gary Becker's phrase, have a taste for discrimination; employees have a desire for a certain amount of human capital. As to why tastes--or desires--exist, that is left to others to explain.[32]

Amsden, however, points out that freedom of choice exists only in a world untouched by the exigencies of wealth and power, and that this "assumption implies that women freely choose to acquire less formal education than men, to enter into lower paying jobs where experience is relatively unimportant, and to unemploy themselves."[33] Neoclassicists have never been able to determine whether women's lower level of human capital is cause or effect "of observed labour force instability. Low wages due to discrimination (statistical or otherwise) may discourage women from investing in human capital, and low investment in human capital perpetuate women's lower earnings."[34]

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[30] Pat Armstrong, *Labour Pains: Women's Work in Crisis* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1984), p. 23.
[31] Amsden, "Introduction," p. 18.
[32] Kenneth Arrow, "Economic Dimensions of Occupational Segregation,." in *Women and the Workplace*, ed. Martha Blaxall and Barbara Reagan (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1976), p. 233.
[33] Amsdem, "Introduction," p. 32.

Neoclassical theory has also been criticized for serving mainly to justify the division of labour by gender rather than to explore the causes of that division.[35] Neither does it explore the complex nature of who benefits from the continuation of a labour market divided on the basis of sex. This market, with male and female workers occupying virtually completely separate segments of the labour market, continues to exist despite neoclassical predictions of an eventual correction.

Nor does neoclassical economics recognize discrimination that is not only external but internal as well, in the form of internal labour markets which replicate the form of the external labour market through entry barriers and barriers to advancement. Discrimination may not only be a matter of unequal pay for equal work, but unequal job assignments.[36] As the economists Reich, Gordon and Edward note:

> Orthodox theory assumes that profit maximizing employers evaluate workers in terms of their individual characteristics and predict that labour market definitions will decline over time because of competitive mechanisms. But by most measures, the labour market differences among groups have not been

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[34] Ibid., p. 16.
[35] Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1978), p. 170.
[36] Amsden, "Introduction," p. 21.

> disappearing. The continued importance of groups in the labour market then is neither explained nor predicted by orthodox theory.[37]

In short, neoclassical economic thought "abstracts economics from power".[38] It postulates autonomous individuals in a totally competitive market, unrestricted by the realities of power, the existence of differing opportunity structures, the socially imposed double responsibility for home and childcare particular to women, and those combined effects on an individual's ability to make choices. It is also a-historical and a-social. As Alice Amsden notes, women's participation in the labour force cannot be seen simply as "a matter of logic; that is, a vector of prices rise and women flood the job market"; "women's participation in the labour market must be seen within a historical and social context to be fully understood."[39]

SOCIOLOGY: THE GENDER MODEL

The gender model in sociology uses similar concepts to that of the liberal view of history and neoclassical economics: individual choice within a family context is assumed to be the primary determinant of why women are in the paid labour force and where they are within it. Pat

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[37] Michael Reich, David M. Gordon, and Richard C. Edwards, "A Theory of Labour Market Segmentation," in *The Economics of Women and Work*, ed. Alice Amsden (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1980), p. 232.
[38] Amsden, "Introduction," p. 32.
[39] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

Armstrong describes the theoretical underpinning of the gender model:

> Women naturally fit into familial roles, their activities naturally complement those of men, they naturally provide a nurturing climate for the inculcation of the young into their pre-ordained adult roles. Furthermore, women's natural familial roles [governs] their access to the public sphere--to those economic, social and political roles that naturally accrue to men.[40]

A number of other researchers also emphasize the role female psychology plays in the gender model analysis of the participation and position in the work force of women. Feldberg and Glenn note that women's motivations are seen as different from men's: "The decision to seek employment (or remain employed) and the choice of occupations are seen as products of unique female motivations"[41] and Patricia Marchak notes that it is the "psychological attributes" of women which are analysed.[42] Fiona McNally expands this point by stating that women are seen as "passively, naturally and happily [accepting] subordinate status in the labour market"[43] because of their preoccupation with matrimony"[44] and their "attenuated ambition".[45] In this view, women have sought employment for pin money, and are content with their place. Work is seen as essentially peripheral to their real lives, lives concerned with the home and family; they have no thought nor desire for advancement.

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[40] Armstrong, *Labour Pains*, p. 20.
[41] Rosalyn L. Feldberg and Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Male and Female: Job Versus Gender Models in the Sociology of Work," *Social Problems* 26 (June 1979):526.
[42] Patricia Marchak, ed., *The Working Sexes*, (Vancouver: The Institute of Industrial Relations. U.B.C., 1977), p. 8.
[43] Fiona McNally, *Women for Hire: A Study of the Female Office Worker*, (London: Macmillan, 1979), p. 4.
[44] Ibid., p. 12.

The gender model, however, has several flaws. In this model the reasons for women's increasing participation in the labour force and for their position within it are trivalized, and a "subtly debilitating" framework is justified, not analysed.[46] The application of different standards to working men than to working women is also theoretically inconsistent. Most importantly, the connection between the economic opportunity structure and the attitudes expressed by women about their work is not examined. In the gender model women's lack of commitment to work is assumed, and women's statements about their primary attachment to the home are accepted at face value.[47] To these theorists, men work for "money, power and status",[48] but women work for pin money or to get out of the house. They examine "depressed levels of pay and prestige among male workers...in relation to prevailing structures of power",[49] but women's position in the labour market is justified by allusion to choice as it is affected by attitudes shaped by women's supposed primary concerns of wifehood and motherhood.

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[45] Ibid., p. 180.

[46] As Kessler-Harris notes, "Empirical research has centred on convincing skeptics that economic necessity, not frivolous neglect of the home forced women into paid labor. How many times ...have researchers had to prove that women did not work for 'pin money'? The subtly debilitating questions that emerged continue to undermine women's already tenuous conviction that paid work is an honest life for them. The scholarly research that emerges from the continued need to justify women's wage work provides, in short, a perfect example of how the social sciences have functioned...as 'myth reinforcing patriarchy'". ALice Kessler-Harris, "Women's Work and the Social Order," in *Liberating Women's History*, ed. Bernice Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 291.

[47] Much research on why an increasing number of women are working is characterized, as McNally notes, by a "'deviance' perspective, since the central aim of the research appears to have been to provide an explanation for the unexpected and to identify the degree of disruption in family life

McNally contends that those who use this model do not attempt to analyse the effects of the economic structure on women's expressed attitudes towards work; nor do they acknowledge that there may be a "lack of choice and opportunities which necessitates resignation to one's fate and which renders an attachment to the home an understandable response to the fact of limited alternatives."[50] However, those who wish to explain women's attitudes cannot afford to overlook the limited opportunities for training and promotion, the discrimination which faces women who would enter "occupations not normally associated with their sex",[51] and the dead end jobs which may lead workers to emphasize other areas of their lives offering greater possibilities for satisfaction. Women's

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[47](cont'd) which might follow such a trend." She goes on to state that there has been little attempt to probe more deeply into the reasons why women might express the attitudes that they do. "Respondents' attitudes have been taken at face value and little interest has been shown in the way in which the opportunity structure in various occupations interact with patterns and priorities." McNally, *Women*, p. 19.

[48] Ibid., p. 184.

[49] Ibid., p. 180.

[50] Ibid., p. 4.

[51] Ibid., p. 12.

subjective response to the labour market may be more the result of limited economic opportunities than the cause of their poor position,[52] a view bolstered by historical analyses of women's attitudes towards work done in both Canada and the United States.[53]

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[52] McNally goes on to state that "consideration must be given to the priorities among workers' objectives and aspirations and to the way the order of priorities may be influenced by practical possibilities of realizing them, or what could be termed the conditions of actions as perceived by the actors themselves." Ibid., p. 19. Attitudes reflecting the greater importance of home and children to women than careers may simply be reflecting the realities of the labour market.

[53] Victoria Strong-Boag argues that Canadian women of the 1920's who focused on marriage rather than on a career may have taken a logical approach to restricted economic opportunities. She states: "For the great majority marriage was the sole possibility they had of offsetting inequality in the workplace. Just as importantly it offered a focus for hopes which dead end jobs could not satisfy." Victoria Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920's," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 4 (1979):157. Lois Scharf argues along similar lines. In her explanation of women's declining position in the American labour market between 1930 and 1950--the declining percentage of female professionals, and the rising percentage of office workers and sales clerks in the female labour force--she maintains that the restricted opportunities for women in the 1930's led to attitudes which reflected that restricted opportunity, attitudes which continued to have an effect even after the return of a buoyant economy. Scharf notes: "While the changing social characterisitics of the female labour force were not unduly affected by the Depression, the events of the decade clamped a lid on the occupational shifts that had taken place since the beginning of the century. During the first three decades, while domestic and personal service categories remained almost unchanged, manufacturing and white collar jobs reversed positions as the principal fields of employment. Between 1930 and 1940, however, this pattern remined static, with clerical and sales occupations gaining at the expense of professional pursuits within the white collar category. Here was the crux of the deteriorating economic status of women during the 1930's." Lois Scharf, *To Work and to Wed: Female Employment, Feminism and the Great Depression*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 108. According to Scharf, this deterioration in women's economic position continued during the 1940's as well. "As for occupational structure, more

B. THE STRUCTURAL APPROACH

The focus on structure to explain women's participation and position in the work force differentiates various theoretical approaches in history, economics and sociology from the preceding analysis which focused on the individual. Radical, Marxist and socialist feminists, segmented labour market theorists and sociologists using the job model for organizational analysis all emphasize the necessity of examining the structure in order to better understand women's participation in, and position within, the labour force, and similarily, within organizations.

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[53](cont'd) menial clerical and service jobs already dominated the white collar category by 1940, gaining at the expense of professional work. Pressure and replacement of women by men in more desireable areas of employment, intense competition among women for existing opportunities in sex-segregated jobs further encouraged by well-intentioned advisors, and technical and economic developments in the work place all contributed to downward mobility... A lowering of economic status occurred during the 1930's and continued there after." Ibid., p. 161. To Scharf, the slowly constricting economic opportunities of the 1930's inevitably shaped women's attitudes towards the work place: "economic hardship and psychological disillusionment left imprints on the vocational aspirations of many women, a development intricately entwined with the deterioration of women's economic status generally." Ibid., p. 86. If women emphasized marriage over career, at least part of the reason lay in women's perception of a labour market which had less and less place for them in jobs which utilized their education or allowed for the realization of their aspirations. In a further analysis, Scharf maintains that the economic hardship of the Depression directly contributed to the death of feminist ideology which could have given women at least a theoretical viewpoint from which to observe, and to take advantage of, the expanding economy which followed the Second World War. Ibid., p. 162.

HISTORY: RADICAL, MARXIST AND SOCIALIST FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

Although radical, Marxist and socialist feminist historians all focus on an analysis of structure in studying women and work, their emphasis on the ultimate determinant of that structure varies. The radical feminist approach to the study of women and women and work focuses on an analysis of the patriarchal structure. They maintain that:

> the original and basic class division is between the sexes, and that the motive force of history is the striving of men for power and domination over women, the dialectic of sex...Women's discontent, radical feminists argued, is not the neurotic lament of the malajusted, but a response to a social structure in which women are systematically dominated, exploited, and oppressed. Women's inferior position in the labour market, the male-centered emotional structure of middle class marriage, the use of women in advertising, the so-called understanding of women's psyche as neurotic, popularized by academic and clinical psychology[54]

all form the focus of radical feminist analysis. To the radical feminists, men in both the public and private sphere collaborate to oppress women. This differs from the liberal analysis of power, "defined as government activity"[55] and therefore amenable to change through involvement with the government, explaining the liberal emphasis on the importance of citizenship and involvement in the public sphere.

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[54] Heidi Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a more Progressive Union?" in *Women and Revolution*, ed. Lydia Sargent (Boston: South End Press, 1981), p. 13.

The greatest strength of the radical feminist approach to women and their paid work lies in their analysis of patriarchy, seen as a political structure which "expresses the struggle to control women's options in order to keep their role as childbearer and rearer primary."[56] Under patriarchy, motherhood becomes political. This transformation

> reflects a political need of patriarchy, which is based partially in the biological truth that women bear children. The tranformation of women from a biological being (childbearer) to a political being (childrearer) is part of the conflict expressed in the politics of patriarchy. Patriarchy seeks to maintain the myth that patriarchal motherhood is a

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[55] Eisenstein, *Radical Future*, p. 162.

[56] Ibid., p. 16.
As Eisenstein notes, radical feminists maintain that "Patriarchy as a political structure seeks to control and subjugate women so that their possibilities for making choices about their sexuality, childrearing, mothering, loving and labouring are curtailed. Patriarchy, as a system of oppression, recognizes the potential power of women and the actual power of men. Its purpose is to destroy woman's consciousness about her potential power, which derives from the necessity of society to reproduce itself. By trying to affect women's consciousness and her life options, patriarchy protects the appropriation of women's sexuality, their reproductive capabilities, and their labour by individual men and society as a whole. Ibid., p. 14.

> biological reality rather than a politically constructed necessity.[57]

This mystification inherent in the contradiction between biological reality and political construction is evident in the law. Eisenstein points out that

> Only the economic dimension of patriarchy--woman's relationship to property, possessions, income--is openly embodied in bourgeois patriarchal law...Patriarchal privilege is therefore most often protected by its indirect presence in the law. Whether a woman chooses to bear a child is supposedly her private affair. That the law does not give her an alternative is not understood as a reflection of indirect patriarchal control.[58]

If the greatest strength of the radical feminist approach lies in its analysis of patriarchy and its purposes, its greatest weakness lies in its subjective and psychological emphasis "which blinds it to history."[59] The male drive for power and "people's psychological need to maintain sexist behavior"[60] may result, as Gerda Lerner has pointed out, in an analysis that paints women as

> largely passive or that, at the most, (as reacting) to male pressures or the restraints of a patriarchal society. Such inquiry fails to elicit the positive and essential way in which women have functioned in

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[57] Ibid., p. 15.
[58] Ibid., p. 19.
[59] Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage," p. 14.
[60] Sargent, *Women and Revolution*, p. xxi.

> history. Essentially treating women as victims of oppression once again places them within a male defined conceptual framework, oppressed, victimized by standards and values established by men. The true history of women is the history of their ongoing functioning in that male defined world on their own terms. The question of oppression does not elicit that story and is of limited usefulness to the historian.[41]

An emphasis on psychology too easily degenerates into one which merely documents women's oppression and powerlessness rather than revealing, as Lerner stresses, their on-going functioning within a male-defined world. Patriarchy exists, and an analysis of patriarchy is enlightening, but analysing women only in terms of their relationship to men paradoxically continues to define women as reacting to men rather than as women discovering their own needs. It does not uncover women's quest for autonomy, which transcends their relationship to men.

Whereas "radical feminists believed that the primary oppression was the patriarchal sex oppression" and that "the division of labour by sex preceded and gave birth to the division of labour by class and race",[42] Marxist feminists "believed in the importance of women in the struggle against capital as 'workers', but not as 'women'.[43] They did not recognize power differences in terms of sex, but rather in terms of class, and the attempt to combine the two insights of Marxism and feminism, that of economic power and psychological power, has led to an ambivalent alliance. Heidi Hartmann refers to this alliance in Blackstonian terms as an uneasy marriage, where Marxism and feminism are one, and the one is Marxism. Engels postulated that women's oppression was the result, not of their political disenfranchisement, as liberal contemporaries like John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor argued, but of their lack of economic equality in the marketplace. Once economic equality between men and women was achieved, Engels believed, women would be free. Property and class, rather than sex, were the main analytical categories. However, as Angela Miles points out, Marxists believed that women worked in the home for the capitalists, providing goods and future workers for the benefits of the capitalist class; they did not ask why women worked in the home and men worked outside the home, or why that translated into a dominant position for men and a subordinate position for women.[44]

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[41] Gerda Lerna, "Placing Women in History: A 1975 Perspective," in *Liberating Women's History*, ed. Bernice Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 358.

[42] Sargent, *Women and Revolution*, p. xxi.

In Marxist theory, an analysis of class relations took precedence over an analysis of relations between men and women. Marxists did not ask

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[43] Ibid., p. xxi.

[44] In a critique of a Canadian study done on domestic labour, Miles criticizes the contributors for their refusal to ask why it is women who work in the home, and not men. To Miles, they describe oppression, but do not analyse it. Angela Miles, "Economism and Feminism," *Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review*, No. 11 (Summer 1983):200.

> who benefits from women's labour? Surely capitalists, also surely men, who as husbands and fathers receive personal service at home...Men have a higher standard of living than women in terms of luxury consumption, leisure time, and personal service...Even if capitalism created the private sphere--why did it happen that women work there, and men in the labour force? Surely this cannot be explained without reference to patriarchy, the systematic dominance of men over women.[65]

Hartmann maintains that a class analysis that does not recognize sex cannot be an adequate theory:

> Just as capital creates these places indifferent to the individuals who fill them, the categories of marxist analysis, class, reserve army of labour, wage labourer, do not explain why particular people fill particular places. They give no clues why women are subordinate to men inside and outside the family and why it is not the other way around. Marxist categories, like capital itself, are sexblind.[66]

And, as Miles points out, the addition of gender prevents the "economic reductionism that bedevils Marxism".[67]

To Hartmann's analysis, Mary O'Brien adds another category that Marx failed to analyse--that of the relationship of men and women in marriage and reproductive labour.[68] Although Marx was scathing in his indictment of bourgeois marriage, and did not believe that working class marriage was substantially better, he did not "see the opposition of male-female as the ground of historical transformation."[69] Nor did he extend his concept of alienated labour to encompass women's reproductive capabilities. To O'Brien, men collaborate among themselves by imposing monogamy on women to ensure paternity rights. As O'Brien explains:

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[65] Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage," p. 7.
[66] Ibid., p. 10.
[67] Miles, "Economism and Feminism," p. 204.

> Men annul the alienation of the seed and give social substance to the idea of paternity by the act of appropriating children. This act is at the same time the act of appropriating the alienated reproductive labour power of the mother. Here lies a relationship of brotherhood between men of all classes which has nothing to do with modes of production, and everything to do with the necessities embedded in reproductive dialectic.[70]

Socialist feminists attempt to use the strengths of the liberal, radical and marxist approaches to the history of women's work, while eliminating their weaknesses. Rather than emphasizing the "individualism that assumes a competitive view of the individual" the socialist feminists "recognize the importance of the individual within the social collectivity."[71] As Zillah Eisenstein points out, the "idea of the independent individual is crucial to feminist theory", but it is a very different concept from that of the autonomous individual whose position in society is a direct result of individual merit and hard work, unaffected by economic, social or political structure. Eisenstein maintains that the "theory of individualism must recognize the individual character of our social nature and the social nature of our individuality"[72] and thus

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[68] This is a relatively recent development, as Linda Kealey points out in her study of historical trends and women's work. She states that the area of reproductive labour is overlooked by historians operating within both a Marxist and structural functionalist framework. Linda Kealey, "Women's Work in the United States: Some Recent Trends in Historical Research," *Atlantis* 4 (Spring 1979):134.

[69] Mary O'Brien, "Reproducing Marxist Man," in *The Sexism of Social and Political Theory*, ed. Lorenne M.G. Clark and Lynda Lange (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 105.

[70] Ibid., p. 113.

> one sees the necessity of mapping out the relationship between one's individual life and the social and political structure that defines it. Only in this way can the real limitations of sex, race and economic class on one's individuality be specified.[73]

Eisenstein is very clear in her analysis of the difference between the feminist sense of the individual and the liberal sense of that same individual:

> Individualism posits the importance of self-sovereignity and therefore can be used to justify women's independence from men... Feminism

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[71] Eisenstein, *The Radical Future*, p. 5.
[72] Ibid., p. 191.
[73] Ibid.

> uses the individualist stance against men because men inhibit women's self and collective development; it need not extend this vision to premise women's isolation from one another.[74]

In this view, it is important to recognize the difference between women "as independent from men"--the feminist view--and women as atomized individuals.[75] Women's lives are structured around the intimate presence of a few men who directly affect their lives, and the collective presence of many men, whose effect is less immediate, but no less present. Both the effects of the individual and the group must be analysed, as Eisenstein underscores.

The socialist feminist recognizes the individual, but not the completely autonomous individual of the liberals. Similarly the socialist feminist recognizes the necessity of transcending the arbitrary division between the public and private if an understanding of women's place in the paid work force is to be reached.[76] Also, whereas the existence of patriarchy, including the difference in power that exists between men and women, is recognized, this is not used merely to document women's oppression.[77] Nor do they see patriarchy as a system which remains static and hence a-historical. Instead, they recognize that patriarchy both changes and acts to contain change, and hence deserves historical analysis, in order to show "how it changes or how women have fought to change it."[78]

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[74] Ibid., p. 154.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Judy Lown describes how an analysis of patriarchy within an economic context can "collapse the analytical division between 'the public' and 'the private'. If we do this, patriarchal power can be characterized in terms of organizing and rationalizing social relations based on male superiority and female inferiority which, at one and the same time, take an economic and familial form, and which pervade the major institutions and belief systems of society. Judy Lown, "Not so Much a Factory, More a Form of Patriarchy," in *Gender Class and Work*, ed. Eva Gamarnikow, et al. (London: Heinemann, 1983), p. 33.

To the socialist feminists, a key point is the link between patriarchy and the economic system. Eisenstein states that patriarchy "is a relatively autonomous system operating alongside the economic mode of society rather than simply derived from it".[79] It is not, as the marxists would argue, an obvious outgrowth of private property, something that will disappear once women attain economic equality. Instead, patriarchy, as the original system, transforms itself to "accommodate the needs of particular economic systems without losing its original impetus to control the reproductive power of women and their place in the political structure."[80] Rather than the Marxist category of class as the only analytical tool, the socialist feminists recognize the study of the interaction between various economic systems and patriarchy is totally necessary if women's place in the paid work force is to be understood; neither system can be overlooked. As Myra Strober notes, it is "the interrelation of the family and occupational systems" which must be analysed; neither can be fully understood in isolation from each other.[81]

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[77] As Eva Garnikow states: "the sense of structured gender inequality, ante-dating capitalist and class relationships, which the term patriarchy seeks to convey, [needs to be preserved]. At the same time, there is a need to avoid the opposite danger of positing a timeless opposition between gender classes, an opposition which at worst may slide into a kind of biologism and at best may provide a rhetorical reorganization of our frames of reference (itself no mean achievement) but without any real or discriminatory power. Eva Gamarnikow et al. *Gender, Class and Work*, (London: Heinemann, 1983), p. 9.

[78] Eisenstein, *The Radical Future*, p. 18.

[79] Ibid., p. 19.

[80] Ibid., P. 18.

Angela Miles carries the work of the socialist feminists one step further. She maintains that the dualism of socialist feminism and its attempts to synthesize patriarchy and the Marxist critique of capitalism have not gone far enough, in that "despite their fine research, socialist-feminist theoretical achievement has largely been limited to a static dualistic analysis of two parallel systems of domination."[82] Instead of simply incorporating class and gender, Miles states that feminists like Mary O'Brien wish to stand Marxism "on its head": "feminism stands in relation to Marxism as Marxism does to classical political economy: its final conclusion and ultimate critique."[83] To Miles, what she terms "integrative" feminism is concerned with the "development and common roots of all forms of oppression", not just "the end of private property and the equality of material distribution."[84] To Mary O'Brien it is a "dialectical, historical, and materialist critique, derived from but superseding Marxist theory, [which] offers the most promising ground for the development of a truly feminist praxis". She maintains that

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[81] Strober, "Dimophics," p. 294.
[82] Miles, *Feminist Radicalism*, p. 22.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Idem, "Economism and Feminism," p. 204.

> The hostility between Marxist social science, which seems largely to have found its critical capital in the workplace, and bourgeois social sciences, perceived only as an exercise in ideological manipulation, is a hostility which feminists must examine in a critical way. Women need not neglect the psychosocial dimensions of male supremacy and the sociology of the family with the cavalier displacement in which vulgar economist determinisms present themselves as the totality of a "Marxist" social science.[85]

A focus on the gender division of labour in the paid work force reveals the interaction between patriarchy and the economic system, the arbitrarily imposed dual nature of women's lives, and the ambivalent effects of economic change on women's lives. Myra Strober points out that "Rosabeth Kanter has observed that most scholarly writing has incorrectly treated family and work as separate domains. Nowhere is it more essential to seek links between family and work than in examining the paid employment of women."[86] Perhaps through an examination of women's paid work, historians can integrate their knowledge of women's lives, and thus transcend the divisions or dualities that obscure more than they reveal.

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[85] O'Brien, "Marxist Man," p. 101.

[86] Myra H. Strober, and David B. Tyack, "Why do Women Teach and Men Manage?" *Signs* 5 (Spring 1980):497.

ECONOMICS: RADICAL, MARXIST AND INSTITUTIONAL SEGMENTED LABOUR MARKET THEORISTS

Unlike neoclassical economists who concentrate on an analysis of the individual, segmented labour market theorists focus on an analysis of structure, and specifically, the existence and persistence of groups within the labour market. They recognize that "groups seem to operate in different labour markets, with different working conditions, different promotional opportunities, different wages,[87] and different market conditions"; and that these groups continue to exist.[88] Key to their analysis is the focus on barriers, both to entry into the labour market and to advancement once within it, and the process of exclusion and the relative distribution of power which underlies this. As Clairmont, Apostle and Krechel note in a critique of segmented labour market theory, it

> emphasizes barriers rather than mobility, inequity rather than the equalization of return, employer

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[87] Francine Blau and Carol Jusenius state that although neoclassical economists have concentrated on the "male/female wage differential and only secondarily on sex segregation per se", the "coexistence in the labour market of both pay differentiation by sex and sex segregation along occupational and other dimensions strongly suggests (although it certainly does not prove) a link between the two." Blau and Jusenius, "Sex Segregation in the Marketplace," p. 182. They go on to state: "Indeed, within the internal labour market wage rates might almost be considered the monetary or value dimension of the job structure. Once this conceptual link between occupational categories and wage rates has been established, it becomes clear that any factor that would tend to cause male/female pay differentiation would also tend to cause segregation along sex lines." Ibid., p. 193.

[88] Reich, Gordon and Edwards, "Labour Market Segmentation," p. 232.

> strategy in place of worker sovereignity (choice) and institutionalized job structures and market arrangements as well as individual labour market outcomes.[89]

In contrast to neoclassicists, segmented labour market theorists focus on the persistence of groups within the labour market as more useful for the study of the gender division of labour. As Alice Kessler-Harris states:

> From a historical perspective, labour market segmentation theory encourages us to take a new look at workers' lives. It opens the door to understanding how home and work roles articulate with one another. Among other things, job stratification imposes limits on family choice and on income. It establishes limits on aspirations difficult to transcend, and which go far toward helping us to understand the parameters of mobility for working people throughout much of industrializing America...The perspectives of labor market segmentation theory exposes hierarchial work structures, long seen as natural, as reflecting the

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[89] Don Clairmont, Richard Apostle, and Reinhard Kreckel, "The Segmentation Perspective as a Middle-Range Conceptualization in Sociology," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 8 (1983):247. As Alice Amsden points out, "no less invariant has been occupational segregation by sex; a large number of women are still crowded into a small number of occupations". Amsden, "Introduction," p. 11. As the Armstrongs point out, these are occupations which for a variety of reasons, are low skilled and low paid, and which offer few opportunities for decision making. Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, p. 146.

> needs of the American capitalist economy. The idea that women and men operate in separate labour markets, with its corollary that we condition ourselves to accept assigned roles, makes sense of of socially accepted attitudes about women's lesser capacities for management, their reluctance to assume responsibility, and their lack of assertiveness. It explains much of what we know about where women have worked in the past and about why their individual and collective struggles have had so little impact on their position in the labor market.[10]

Although segmented labour market theorists agree on the importance of the persistence of groups, they approach the problem differently. Alice Amsden has defined these approaches as radical, Marxist and institutional.[11] Both the radicals and the Marxists situate power within the economic structure and look at class struggle as the predominate factor in the maintenance of that economic structure. To Amsden, the radical approach differs primarily from that of the marxist in that it addresses problems particularly from the 1970's onward.[12] Sylvia Walby further divides the radical labour market theorists by "whether these [gender] divisions are seen as byproducts of struggle between capital and labour, or whether these divisions are seen as a central feature of analysis."[93] The institutionalists only obliquely refer to power differentials, preferring to document the effects of structural change within the economy and thus the changing demand for labour as the most important factor to be analysed.

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[10] Alice Kessler-Harris, "Women's Wage Work as Myth and History," *Labor History* 19 (Spring 1978):297.
[11] Amsden, "Introduction," p. 12.
[12] Ibid.

With the exception of the radical feminists, none of these approaches make explicit reference to the benefits men may derive from a segmented labour market divided on the basis of sex. They fail to make explicit the role men play in the maintenance of the private and the public spheres of women, nor the advantages that men, as well as capitalists, gain because of the sexual division of labour both in the home and in the work place.

To radical segmented labour market theorists, the segmented labour force is the result of "the capitalists' need to divide and rule the labour force"[94] which "arose during the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism."[95] To these theorists, the segmented labour market persists because it is functional: "it facilitates the operation of capitalist institutions";[96] a segmented labour force is also much more docile than a homogenous one, since a "homogenous labour force facilitates class struggle."[97] It is also firmly bulwarked against change, as a Canadian study of working women since the Second World War states. "Because some employers depend on women as workers, and as workers who fill particular kinds of jobs, those employers will not, and perhaps cannot, respond to a call for reform."[98]

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[93] Sylvia Walby, "Patriarchal Structures: The Case of Unemployment," in *Gender, Class and Work* ed. Eva Gamarnikow et al. (London: Heinemann, 1983), p. 155.

[94] Reich, Gordon and Edwards, "Labour Market Segmentation," p. 243.

[95] Ibid., p. 234.

[96] Amsden, "Introduction," p. 22.

[97] Ibid.

A problem with the radical approach, however, is its functionalism, which "involves interpreting what exists as the outcome of what is needed by the ruling class...radical literature sees labour market segmentation as arising from the divisive manipulation of the capitalists."[99] Within that theoretical approach, there is little room for the action of women which Mary Beard stressed. Nor is there any recognition of the role worker groups themselves played in the continuation of the segmented labour market.

Marxist segmented labour market theorists go further than the radical theorists in that they also explore the link between women's home work and market work and its effect on women's position in the labour market, although to the Marxists, a class analysis remains pre-eminent. Alice Amsden maintains that because "gender is not a category which Marx integrated into his theory of capital",[100] the work that Marxists have done on women's unpaid labour in the home "has shed little light on women themselves. It is very much a theory in search of a problem."[101] To the Armstrongs it is the employers who benefit, not men:

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[98] Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, p. 122.
[99] Amsden, "Introduction," p. 27.
[100] Ibid., p. 32.
[101] Ibid., p. 33.

> The structural division of the domestic unit form the industrial unit and the concomitant household responsibilities of women encourage a division of work in the labour force that is also based on sex. However, the nature of the work performed by women in both units discourages their full and active participation. And, since women do the work equally well for lower wages, it is in the interest of employers to maintain this situation.[102]

Why some jobs are labelled male and some jobs are labelled female is a matter of considerable discussion. To Marxist SLM theorists like the Armstrongs, ideology is used to justify economic need: "jobs are segregated (by gender) but only as long as the segregation is compatible with economic needs."[103] As they point out, any justifications based on a belief in women's lesser capabilities were completely undermined during the Second World War, when women participated fully in nearly every area of the economy. However, the fact that men, as well as capitalists, benefit from this segregated labour force is something that is not explicitly dealt with; the emphasis is on the class nature of oppression rather than the fact that sex and class oppression may be intimately intertwined.

The role of structural change in the economy is dealt with only peripherally by the radical and Marxist segmented

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[102] Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, p. 58.
[103] Ibid., p. 31.

labour market theorists;[104] it is the institutionalists who are defined by their focus on that area. To the institutionalists, the segmented labour market is the result, not of the capitalists' need to divide and control the workers, as the radicals argue, nor of a logical extension of familial roles which are of benefit to the capitalists, as the Marxists argue, but of the "divergent development of the industrial structure" which results in the increased labour force participation rate of certain groups.[105] To the institutionalists, of which Valerie Oppenheimer is a notable example, women's increased labour force participation rate since the Second World War is due to the tremendous growth in job opportunities in areas already defined as women's work, which explains the paradox of continued labour market segmentation in the face of increasing participation.

Central to the institutionalists' analysis is their focus on employer demand as an explanation as to why certain definable groups are hired in preference to others, and how jobs acquire a group appropriate label. Valerie Oppenheimer underlines that demand for labour is sex-linked, and that jobs are sex-labelled. In her study of supply and demand factors affecting women's changing position in the American labour market since the Second World War, she points out that there are men's jobs and there are women's jobs: "Although men and women are used interchangeably in some jobs, most demand for labour has usually been sex specific...Historically, women have been concentrated in occupations not only where they were over-represented but where they were actually in the majority."[106] In Canada, as Pat and Hugh Armstrong note, for every census from 1900 to 1970 the great majority of female workers were concentrated in occupations which were disproportionately female,[107] statistics which were duplicated in the United States as well.[108] To Oppenheimer, "the existence of female occupations reflect long-standing norms regarding the sex-labelling of jobs. The evidence of these norms--from studies of hiring practices and other studies--is overwhelming."[109]

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[104] Reich, Gordon and Edwards, "Labour Market Segmentation," p. 235.
[105] Jill Rubery, "Structured Labour Markets, Worker Organization and Low Pay," in *The Economics of Women and Work*, ed. Alice Amsden (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1980), p. 243.

To Oppenheimer, both supply and demand are affected by the sex-labelling of jobs. "Whatever the particular mechanisms of a given situation, however, the existence of the sex-labelling of jobs means that not only does the labour supply *vis a vis* certain jobs tend to be sex specific, but so does the demand for labour."[110] Juanita Kreps stresses the importance of sex as an employment characteristic as it affects demand:

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[106] Valerie Oppenheimer, "Demographic Influence on Female Employment and the Status of Women," *American Journal of Sociology*, (January 1973):949.
[107] Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, p. 16.
[108] Valerie Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force in the United States: Demographic and Economic Factors Governing its Growth and Changing Composition*, (Berkeley: University of California Population Monograph Series Number 5, 1970), p. 68.
[109] Idem, "Demographic Influence," p. 949.

> When jobs are expanding, an employer is prompted to reach further and further down the labour queue, hiring workers in the order of their attractiveness to him. Which potential employee he finds attractive depends on his own mind set as well as the characteristics of the persons in line. The sex of the applicant is an important characteristic, so important for many jobs that only one sex is acceptable. Members of the other sex are then so far down the line they have little chance of being employed in that job; in effect, they constitute a different line altogether.[111]

And, as she goes on to state, once jobs have acquired a sex-specific label, demand is "not just for cheap labour, but for cheap female labour."[112] However, the institutionalists carefully refrain from an analysis of who benefits from women's exclusion from access to both external and internal labour markets; neither class nor sex benefits are analysed.

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[110] Idem, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 120.
[111] Juanita M. Kreps, and R. John Leaper, "Home Work, Market Work and the Allocation of Time," in *Women in the American Economy*, ed. Juanita Kreps (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1976), p. 61.
[112] Ibid., p. 63.

A number of SLM theorists have explored how barriers internal to the organization operate to exclude certain groups, but in general their analysis has shied away from identifying gender as a determinant of both who excludes and who is excluded. Some segmented labour market theorists argue that an internal segmented labour market exists because it ensures stability, necessary in a time of technological change, but they describe, rather than analyse, the resulting division by gender. As Amsden points out

> To ensure stability, high wages, fringe benefits and prospects of advancement are offered. The number of 'ports of entry' are limited, and promotion ladders are attached to each job. An oligopolistic product market facilitates the payment of wages above workers' opportunity costs. It is further argued, however, that not all jobs are subject to technical change of the type which makes on the job training and stability important. Jobs which aren't, remain low paying and insecure. They constitute the secondary labour market. The primary sector harbours most of the good jobs. Only the lower ranking jobs within this sector are filled by minorities and women.[113]

Other theorists argue that the form of the external labour market is replicated by the internal labour market. Reich,

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[113] Amsden, "Introduction," p. 21.

Gordon and Edwards, in their study of the persistence of the segmented labour market, note one example where

> "the structuring of the internal relations of the firm furthered labour market segmentation through the creation of a segmented 'internal labour market'. Job ladders were created, with definite 'entry level' jobs and patterns of promotion. White collar workers entered the firm's work force and were promoted within it in different ways from the blue collar production force. Workers not having the qualifications for particular entry level jobs were excluded from access to that entire job ladder."[114]

As Sylvia Walby noted, it is gender that is the focus of the radical feminist segmented market theorists, unlike other segmented labour market theorists, who simply note the existence of a segmented labour market based on sex. The radical feminists attempt to explore the reasons why it is women who occupy certain jobs, and why they are excluded from others. As Bettina Berch notes, "the modern female ghetto should be seen, then, as an exclusion process, not as a natural, ahistorical phenomenon."[115] Central to their analysis is the recognition of the interaction between patriarchy and the economic system, and how the two maintain and support each other.

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[114] Reich, Gordon and Edwards, "Labour Market Segmentation," p. 236.

[115] Bettina Berch, *The Endless Day; The Political Economy of Women and Work*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch, 1982), p. 82.

To Payne, Payne and Chapman, a reliance only on an analysis of the needs of capitalism or on the divergent growth of the economy will not explain why the sexual division of labour exists and why female labour force participation rates changes over time. They state:

> Mobility rates are accounted for by the demand for labour of various kinds under the particular economic conditions of any given period. ..An account of female mobility must draw on two interconnected kinds of explanation, one dealing with occupations and mobility in general, and the other with gender-specific features of employment practice. The former, what might loosely be called the "occupational needs" of modern capitalism (such as the growth of non-manual occupations and the shift to the tertiary sector) can in theory be supplied by recruiting men or women. In practice, women have been hired for some jobs such as shop assistant or routine office work to an extent that is less to do with "occupational needs" than with gender attitudes...It can be argued that the development of capitalism was dependent on having those roles filled, but it is not evident that capitalism required them to be overwhelmingly filled with female labour.[114]

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[114] Geoff Payne, Judy Payne, and Tony Chapman, "Trends in Female Social Mobility," in *Gender, Class and Work*, ed. Eva Gamarnikow, et al. (London: Heinemann, 1976), pp. 73-74.

Since women are cheaper to hire for a number of reasons, why are they not hired in preference to men? To Sylvia Walby, only if an analysis of patriarchy is added to an analysis of capitalism can the continuation of the gender division of labour be understood.[117] Heidi Hartmann criticizes segmented labour market theorists for their overemphasis on "the role of the capitalists" and its neglect of the "male workers themselves in perpetuating segmentation"[118] which has been crucial in determining women's status.[119] To Hartmann, capitalists and male workers have both worked with each other and against each other, and the implications of both roles must be considered.

> The relative importance of capitalists and male workers in instituting and maintaining job segregation by sex has varied in different periods. Capitalists during the transition to capitalism, for example, seemed quite able to change the sex composition of jobs...As industrialization progressed and conditions stabilized somewhat, male unions gained in strength and were often able to preserve or extend male arenas. Nevertheless, in times of overwhelming social or economic necessity, occasioned by vast increases in the demand for labour such as teaching or clerical work, male

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[117] Walby, "Patriarchal Structures," p. 150.

[118] Heidi Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex," in *Women and the Workplace*, ed. Martha Blaxall and Barbara Reagan (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 166.

[119] Ibid., p. 139.

> capitalists were capable of overpowering male workers. Thus in periods of economic change, capitalists' actions may be more instrumental in instituting or changing a sex-segregated labour force--while workers fight a defensive battle. In other periods male workers may be more important in maintaining sex-segregated jobs; they may be able to prevent the encroachment of, or even to drive out, cheaper female labour, thus increasing the benefits to their sex.'[120]

To Hartmann, the recognition that gender interests were more important than class interests is central to her analysis, as is her belief that these gender interests were a direct contributor to the maintenance of occupational segregation. As Sylvia Walby notes, Hartmann

> argues that the attempts to exclude women from certain occupations were a deliberate attempt by male workers to better their own position at the expense of female workers. She argues that a patriarchal division of labour existed long before the advent of capitalism. This division of labour was, however, perpetuated by male workers in industrial capitalism and exploited by capitalist employers for their own benefit. The most important aspect...was the active organization of male workers seeking to exclude women workers from their

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[120] Ibid., p. 166.

trades.[121]

Both Hartmann and Lown point out that men's ability to organize through work has been used against women. Hartmann speculates that it is male affinity for hierarchy: "Men's ability to organize in labour unions--stemming perhaps from a greater knowledge of the techniques of hierarchial organization--appears to be key in their ability to maintain job segregation and the domestic division of labour."[122] Lown looks at organizational ability as it is acquired through work identity "which men gained through their formalized systems of apprenticeship and the public and political recognition of their work status".[123] This was an opportunity many women lacked because of the "strong identification of women and girls as familial dependents...which largely ensured their continued subordination."[124]

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[121] Walby, "Patriarchal Structures," p. 155. This is a viewpoint shared by Jane Humphries, Jill Rubery and Hilda Scott is their studies of women and work. Jane Humphries and Jill Rubery argue that the fight for the "family wage" had ambivalent results for women because of the primacy of gender interests. Amsden, "Introduction," p. 28. Hilda Scott states as well that male worker organization was a prime factor in the maintenance of occupational segregation. Scott maintains that "A major share of the responsibility for the marginalization of women and the establishment of occupational segregation under industrial capitalism rests with the trade unions [in the United States, Britain and Europe]...With some honourable exceptions, they reacted to the ominous threat of cheap labour that undercut their own wages not by organizing women but by striking to prevent their hiring. They wrote provisions into their constitution preventing women from joining. They refused training to women, threatening expulsion to any member who instructed women in the trade. When women organized themselves, national unions refused to admit them. The protective legislation for which they pressed effectively excluded women from many male occupations. Men preferred to fight for a 'family wage' rather than extend their class solidarity to women who needed jobs." Hilda Scott, *Working Your Way to the Bottom: The Feminization of Poverty*, (London: Pandora Press, 1984), pp. 6-7.

[122] Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation," p. 159.

[123] Lown, "Not so Much a Factory," p. 32.

SOCIOLOGY: THE JOB MODEL

Although it has been speculated that gender segmentation within organizations is both a mirror image and a contributor to labour market segmentation, and that the analysis of the requirements of organizational change can add an important dimension to the understanding of the segmented labour market,[125] sociologists in the area of organizational analysis have generally neglected gender as an issue. Even feminists themselves only recently have turned to an analysis of the organization as a way of determining why women are where they are.[126] In general they reject what Rosabeth Kanter terms the temperamental model, which bears a close resemblance to the gender model with its emphasis on individual psychology. To Kanter, "the temperamental model involves the study of women's character and personality...[and] implies the need for remedial progress for women. The intervention style is one of compensation for deficiencies".[127] Instead, like the

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[124] Ibid.

[125] Myra H. Strober, and David B. Tyack, "Why do Women Teach and Men Manage?" *Signs* 5 (Spring 1980):501.

[126] Jeff Hearn, and Wendy Parkin, "Gender and Organizations: A Selective Review and a Critique of a Neglected Area," *Organization Studies 3* (1983):215.

[127] Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "The Policy Issues: Presentation VI," in *Women and Work*, ed. Martha Blaxall and Barbara

segmented labour market theorists in general, Kanter emphasizes the necessity of analysing the structure of the organization, external and internal barriers and the process of exclusion. As Kanter notes:

> Social structural research is directed at the nature of organizational structure and the organization of work. Occupations do not exist in a vacuum; they occur within institutions. Those institutions, structures--who works with whom, who dominates whom, how members of occupations come in contact with one another--are the topics of analysis and explanation. I suggest that a number of structural and situational variables are more important determinants of the organizational behavior of women (and men) than sex differences or global social roles.[128]

Her analysis also addresses the role of patriarchy in the structure of the organization, as Hearn and Parkin note in their critique of organizational theory. To them,

> Kanter, if anything, takes a more radical (humanist) position still in urging attention to the

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[127] (cont'd) Reagan (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 283.

[128] Ibid., p. 285. However, Kanter's work has been criticized. Cecilia Reynolds, while recognizing the value of Kanter's work, criticizes it as ahistorical, monodimensional, and reductionist, and maintains that Kanter has "not considered the wider context within which that culture has been produced and maintained, nor has she considered the possibility of change over time." Cecilia Reynolds,"The State of Research on Women in Education," *The ATA Magazine*, May/June 1985, p. 45.

> ideological underpinnings of modern organizations, a theme more self-consciously taken up by the anarchist and radical feminists...Here the idea and practice of the organization itself is held to be dominated by men and so to be subject to critical theory and practice.[12]

This analysis of organizational structure and of organizational change has recently been recognized as valuable in the study of the reasons for the gender division of labour within schools. Thomas Jovick uses Kanter's model of organizational analysis and applies it to schools, noting that:

> Kanter alleges that the most pervasive and influential force in obtaining intrinsic rewards is the "opportunity structure", or the way an organization fashions a number of components of the workers' situation so as to affect his or her chances of acquiring such rewards on the job. In the schools, the opportunity structure involves the extent to which the network of governance, instructional tasks and communicaton allow for professional growth and development, increased responsibility and influence, recognition and achievement, and the extraordinary use of teaching skills and knowledge. Kanter concludes that in order to eliminate the barriers that prevent a person from

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[12] Hearn and Parker, "Gender and Organization," p. 227.

> receiving intrinsic rewards and to remedy the debilitating attitudes and behaviors that result when barriers exist, the organization must institute a change in its internal structure.[130]

To answer the question: Why do men manage and women teach? Alison Prentice and her colleagues in Canada and Myra Strober and David Tyack in the United States have analysed organizational structure and organizational change within a historical context as partial explanations for the gender division of labour within the schools as well as the changing percentage of women teachers and women administrators. They analyse the requirements of increasing bureaucracy, and the move towards centralization and the graded school, to explain why men were hired as managers although they were more expensive than women, and why women remained teachers rather than ascending eventually to administration. Prentice particularly, but also Strober and Tyack, specifically analyse the role of men in order to determine why men were hired to the exclusion of women as the organizational structure of the schools became more centralized and more bureaucratic.[131]

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[130] Thomas Jovick, "Ambitions and the Opportunities for Professiosals in the Elementary School," in *Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials*, ed. Patricia Schmuck and W.W. Charters (New York: Academic Press, 1981), p. 155.

[131] Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers, Gender and Bureaucratizing School Systems in Nineteenth Century Montreal and Toronto," *History of Education Quarterly* 24 (Spring 1984):84; Strober and Tyack, "Why do Women Teach and Men Manage?", p. 499.

The process of exclusion is also analysed by Prentice, Strober and Tyack. As Barry Bergen notes, exclusion is inherent in any area that is trying to professionalize, which he defines as

> "particular groups of people [who] attempt to negotiate the boundaries of an area in the social division of labour and establish their control over it." Thus professions are not automatically autonomous, they gain autonomy in a process which is both internal struggle and externally directed persuasion. This internal struggle concerns who shall be included in or excluded from the profession. The persuasion is directed at relevant elites, for...'professions ultimately depend upon the power of the state, and they originally emerge by the grace of powerful protectors. The privileged position of a profession is thus secured by the political and economic influence of the elite which sponsors it.' Further, this process of professionalization is undertaken in order to turn special knowledge and skills into social or economic rewards.'[132]

The exclusionary process inherent in professionalization is heightened by bureaucratization, because bureaucratization stratifies the internal organization, serving to ensure the exclusion of those not already part of the designated group.

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[132] Barry H. Bergen, "Only a Schoolmaster: Gender, Class and the Effort to Professionalize Elementary Teaching in England, 1870 - 1910," *History of Education Quarterly* 22 (Spring 1982):7.

In order to analyse both women teachers' proportionate decline within teaching, and their continued occupational segregation as teachers and not as administrators despite growth in the administrative area, it is necessary to take an interdisciplinary approach that focuses on the interrelatedness of social systems, to quote Myra Strober. The approach most able to explore women's position within teaching is one that recognizes both the influence of the patriarchal social sytem and the economic structure. Those approaches within the disciplines of history, economics and sociology which stress not only an analysis of structure as opposed to an analysis of the individual, but which also stress the interrelationship between patriarchy and the economic system, seem best able to illuminate why women's numerical position as teachers has declined, and why they continue to be segregated as teachers rather than as administrators, despite an increasingly bureaucratic organizational structure within teaching. Furthermore, in order to understand the implications of school organization and organizational change within the schools for women teachers, the emphasis cannot centre on the individual and individual motivations, but must focus on the structure of the organization itself, the reasons for that structure, the reasons for organizational change and the implications of that change for women. At the same time, a focus on organizations and organizational change must recognize that organizations exist within an historical context, and that they change over time.

III. CHANGES IN WOMEN'S WORK LIVES 1940-1950

This overview of women's position in the labour force initially describes the increasing labour force participation rate of women and the changing composition (marital status and age) of the female labour force during the decade of the 1940's. Then the differential effects of economic changes for male and female workers are outlined. Finally, explanations propounded by the individualist approach emphasizing supply factors and the structural approach emphasizing demand factors will be assessed in order to gain a better understanding as to why, despite increasing participation rates in the labour force, women's position in the professions, and specifically in teaching, declined during this decade. Why did women fail to improve their overall position in the labour force by advancing into the professions in larger numbers, and particularly in teaching?

A. CHANGES IN THE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE IN CANADA: 1940 - 1950

The labour force participation rate of women has risen steadily since the turn of the century, a rate that accelerated after the Second World War, despite fluctuations in fertility and marital rates.[133] In 1901, just over one in every ten women worked for pay; by 1921 the labour force participation rate of women had risen to nearly one in five. However, this rate only inched forward over the next twenty years. In 1941 20.2% of women worked, but by 1951 the labour force participation rate of women had increased to 23.6%, as great an increase in ten years as over the previous twenty, although nowhere near the war-time peak of 31.4% of the labour force reached in 1945. The labour force participation rate continued to accelerate in the decades after the Second World War, from nearly one in four women working in 1951 to nearly one in three in 1961 to over one in two in 1981. (See Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4.)[134]

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[133] As Kalbach and McVey point out in *The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society*, marriage and fertility rates have fluctuated sharply over the course of the century. Warren E. Kalbach and Wayne McVey, *The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), p. 265. During the 1940's, when the labour force participation rate of women was rising, so was the crude birth rate, from 21.6 in 1940 to a peak of 28.9 in 1947. It remained near that

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[133] (cont'd) peak for the rest of the decade. Ibid., p. 57.

[134] Hence, over the course of the century, despite fluctuating fertility levels or age at marriage, the labour force participation rate of women has continued to rise, giving more than one demographer pause as to whether fertility and age at marriage is a causal factor in labour force participation. Karl E. Taeuber and James A. Sweet, "Family and Work: The Social Life Cycle of Women," in *Women in the American Economy*, ed. Juanita Kreps (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1976), p. 50. Taueber and Sweet state that "During the twentieth century there have been fluctuations in most of the aspects of the life cycle that we have reviewed, especially in terms of fertility. But whether age at marriage was rising or falling, whether fertility was rising or falling, whether the proportion of women with young children was rising or falling, the proportion of women in the labour force was steadily rising." Ibid. As one author points out in *The Fertility of Working Women: A Synthesis of International Research*: "While there does seem to be to be some general agreement among demographers (and other social scientists) that a negative association exists in the United States between some measure of female employment and some measure of fertility--at some level of analysis, at some stage of family life cycle, for certain groups of women--there is certainly no agreement as to the causal nature of these two demographic phenomena or the desertion of causality; that is, whether female work causes lower fertility, whether low fertility causes females to enter the labour force, whether they are mutually causal, or mutually caused by some

TABLE 1:

Female Labour Force Participation Rate: CANADA, 1901 - 1981

1901	12.0%
1911	14.3%
1921	17.2%
1931	19.1%
1941	20.2%
1951	23.6%
1961	29.5%
1971	39.9%
1981	*51.7%

SOURCE: Anne Marie Decore, "Women and Work in Canada, 1961 and 1971," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1976), p. 3.
*Table 5, Historical Labour Force Statistics, 71-201, Annual. (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1985).

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[134](cont'd) antecedent causal phenomena." Stanley Kupinski, ed., *The Fertility of Working Women: A Synthesis of International Research*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977), p. 188. And, as Valerie Oppenheimer noted in her study of women's labour participation rate in the United States since the Second World War, "the shifts in population cannot account for the increased female work rate primarily because trends in marriage and age structure have operated to put higher proportions of white women into categories which usually have lower rates." Valerie Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force in the United States: Demographic and Economic Factors Governing its Growth and Changing Composition*, (Berkeley: University of California Population Monograph Series Number 5, 1970), p. 27. Thus, despite fluctuations in fertility and marriage rates, higher birth and marriage rates have not meant an inverse correlation in the female labour force participation rate.

TABLE 2:

Percentage of Labour Force Female: CANADA

1901	13.3%
1911	13.4%
1921	15.5%
1931	17.0%
1941	18.5%
1951	22.0%
1961	27.3%
1971	34.6%
1981	*40.75%

SOURCE: Anne Marie Decore, "Women and Work in Canada, 1961 and 1971," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1976), p. 3.
*Table 5, Historical Labour Force Statistics, 71-201, Annual. (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1985).

TABLE 3:
Percentage of the Labour Force Female, CANADA 1940 - 1951

1940	21.3
1941	22.3
1942	24.2
1943	30.3
1944	31.0
1945	31.4
1946	22.7
1951	22.5

SOURCE: Patricia Connelly, *Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force*, (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1978), p. 77.

TABLE 4:

Crude Birth Rate CANADA 1940 - 1950

1940	21.6
1941	22.6
1942	23.5
1943	24.2
1944	24.0
1945	24.3
1946	27.2
1947	28.9
1948	27.3
1949	27.3
1950	27.1

SOURCE: Warren E. Kalbach and Wayne McVey, *The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), p. 57.

The rising labour force participation rate of women has been accompanied by changes in the composition of the female labour force. Before 1940 the female labour force was overwhelmingly composed of young and single women; after 1940 the composition of the female labour force began to change rapidly to refect the rising participation rate of older, married women.[135] Between 1931 and 1951, the real growth in the labour force participation rate was for women over the age of 35. The participation rate of women aged 20 to 24, the traditional age for women to work, rose only marginally between 1931 and 1951, from 47.4% to 48.8%, as did the participation rate of women between 25 and 34, from 24.4% in 1931 to 25.4% in 1951. However the participation rate of women between the ages of 35 and 44 rose from 14.3% in 1931 to 22.3% in 1951. The rate for women aged 45 to 54 increased just as dramatically, from 12.9% in 1931 to 21.1% in 1951. The largest rise in the participation rate of any age group in the twenty years between 1931 and 1951 was the nearly seven percent rise in participation for women between the ages of 45 and 54 between 1941 and 1951. (See Table 5.)[136]

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[135] The authors of *Women at Work in Canada* state "that until World War II it was uncommon for married women (living with their husbands) to work outside their homes." *Women at Work in Canada*, (Ottawa: Department of Labour, 1965), p. 2. William Chafe echoes many other authors in both the United States and Canada when he notes that "from a social point of view, however, the most important fact about World War II was that women who went to work were married and over thirty-five. Prior to 1940 the vast majority of employed women were young, single, and poor." William Chafe, "Looking Backwards in Order to Look Forward," in *Women in the*

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[135](cont'd) *American Economy*, ed. Juanita Kreps (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1976), p. 16.

[136] This rise was also echoed in the United States. "The biggest jump in labour force participation during the 1940's occurred among women aged 45 to 54." Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations and the Status of Women During World War II*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), p. 7.

TABLE 5:

Female Labour Force Participation Rate By Age.

CANADA 1921 - 1951

	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
1931	47.4	24.4	14.3	12.9	11.3
1941	46.9	27.9	18.1	14.5	11.1
1951	48.8	25.4	22.3	21.1	13.5

SOURCE: Sylvia Ostry, *The Female Worker in Canada*, (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 3.

The increasing participation of older women was reflected in the rising median age of the female worker in Canada. In 1931 it was 25; by 1961 it had risen to nearly 35, "although the average age of the base population of women (15-64 years of age) rose by less than three years over the same period, from 32.6 in 1931 to 35.4 in 1961."[137] This rising age of the female worker was reflected only in certain occupations, as Ostry noted:

> "The largest increase in average age between 1931 and 1961 took place in sales occupations, service jobs, and blue collar work", but the average age of professional and technical workers declined.[138]

In conjunction with the rise in the participation rate of older women was the rise in the participation rate of married women:

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[137] Sylvia Ostry, *Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force*, (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967), p. 33.
[138] Ibid.

> A postwar trend equal in importance to the entry of married women into the labour force has been the movement of women aged 35 to 55 into the world of work. Of course, these two trends have been almost entirely one and the same; it has been the entry of married women of this age group into the labour market that has produced the transformation in the age and marital status composition of the female labour force.[139]

By 1961 the "'two-phase' working life cycle caused by the re-entry of middle-aged women into the labour force after withdrawal in early adulthood"[140] had been isolated by Sylvia Ostry in her study of the changing composition of the female labour force. The first glimmerings of this re-entry phenomena were noticed during the decade of the forties, when women born between 1897 and 1906 re-entered the labour force at higher levels than their predecessors.[141] This phenomenon had an effect on both the percentage of married women in the female labour force, and on the percentage of older women. In 1941 less than 5% of married women worked, but by 1951 that percentage had more than doubled, to 11%, and by 1961 it doubled again, to 22%.

That rise in the participation rate of married women was not matched by an equally spectacular rise in the participation rate of single women: between 1941 and 1961 the labour force participation rate for single women rose by less than seven percent, from 47.2% in 1941 to 54.1% in 1961. Sylvia Ostry notes: "thus, in the twenty years between 1941 and 1961, the proportion of married women who entered the labour market in this country increased more than five times--a far more dramatic rise than that exhibited for women as a whole."[142] (See Table 6.)[143]

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[139] *Women at Work in Canada*, p. 2.
[140] Sylvia Ostry, *The Female Worker in Canada*, (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 8.
[141] Ostry, *Female Worker*, p. 7.

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[142] Ibid., p. 3.

[143] By 1981 the labour force participation rate for married women had reached 51.7%. This change in Canada paralleled that of the United States, as William Chafe notes: "While the percentage of single women who worked remained constant over thirty years (1940-1970) at approximately 50%, the proportion of married women grew almost three times." Chafe, "Looking Backwards," p. 17.

TABLE 6:

Female Labour Force Participation Rate By Marital Status.

CANADA 1931 - 1971

	Married	Single	Other	TOTAL	Married Women as a % of Total Women in Labour Force
1931	3.5	43.8	21.3	19.3	10.0
1941	4.5	47.2	17.3	20.3	12.7
1951	11.2	58.3	19.3	24.1	30.0
1961	22.0	54.1	22.9	29.5	49.8
1971	37.0	53.5	26.5	39.9	59.1

SOURCE: Patricia Connelly, *Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force*, (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1978), p.84.

The changing labour force participation rate of older, married women was reflected in the changing composition of the female labour force. In 1941 12.7% of the female labour force were married compared to 79.9% who were single; by 1951 30% of the female labour force were married compared to 62.1% who were single, a phenomenal change in only a decade.[144] (See Table 7.)

TABLE 7:

Marital Status of Female Labour Force, CANADA 1931 - 1951

	Married	Single	Other	TOTAL
1931 (10+)	10.0	80.7	9.2	99.0
1941 (14+)	12.7	79.9	7.4	100.0
1951 (14+)	30.0	62.1	7.9	100.0

SOURCE: *Women at Work in Canada*, (Ottawa: Department of Labour, 1965), p. 21.

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[144] Ruth Pierson, *Canadian Women and the Second World War*, (Canadian Historical Association Booklet Number 37. Ottawa: 1983), p. 25.

B. DIFFERENTIAL IMPACT OF ECONOMIC CHANGES FOR MALE AND FEMALE WORKERS

During the 1940's, the Canadian economy shifted from dominance in the secondary sector to dominance in the service producing or tertiary sector. For the first time, the 1951 Census revealed more white collar than blue collar workers.[145] The return to general prosperity after the war, and changes in government and business organization[146] both contributed to rapid growth in the service and clerical sectors, sectors which had been major employers of women for some time.

This growth meant a continuation of the segmented labour market despite the rising labour force participation rate of women, as a Department of Labour study stated:

> The broad groupings that account for the majority of the female labour force are Clerical, Personal Service, Professional, Commercial and Financial, and Manufacturing Occupations. These have been the main occupational fields for women since the turn of the century."[147]

The only significant change between 1931 and 1961, as Noah Meltz has pointed out, has been "the increase in the percentage of the female labour force held by clerical workers and the decline in service occupations", a change which "occurred mainly between 1941 and 1951."[148] In 1901 only 20% of clerical workers were female, but by 1960 over 60% were female. This change was "a marked transformation"[149] of a formerly male dominated field, and the only one that occurred. By the end of the forties, an even greater percentage of women workers were clerical workers than before, from less than one in five to over one in four, making it the largest occupational group for women.[150] Not only had clerical work shifted from predominantly male to predominantly female, but also the female labour force in general had been changed by the effects of the rapid growth of the clerical area and its demand for women workers. As Sylvia Ostry has noted, it was the growth of the clerical area, already largely women, which contributed directly to "the striking advance of the white collar sector after 1941".[151]

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[145] Ostry, *Occupational Composition*, p. 9.
[146] Patricia Connelly, *Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force*, (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1978), p. 55. Women at Work, pp. 3-4.
[147] *Women at Work*, p. 28.

Even though the percentage of women increased in the clerical area of the white collar sector, women did not make the same inroads in another area of the white collar sector, the professions. Although the professional area itself expanded, providing numerous opportunities for educated workers, the benefits were one-sided.[152] Sylvia Ostry points out that "between 1931 and 1961 the number of men in professional and technical jobs doubled while the experienced male labour force grew by only 40%."[153]

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[148] Noah Meltz, *Changes in the Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force, 1931-1961*, (Ottawa: Occasional Paper Number 2, Economics and Research Branch, Department of Labour, 1965), p. 31.

[149] Ostry, *Occupational Composition*, p. 28.

[150] Meltz, *Changes*, p. 31.

[151] Ostry, *Occupational Composition*, p. 11.

[152] Meltz, *Changes*, p. 33. A number of researchers have pointed out that it is not lack of education that results in women's lower pay or their ghettoization in only a few areas

The situation was quite different for women. The percentage of working women in the professions actually "declined slightly between 1931 and 1951, from 17.8% of the total female labour force in 1941 to 14.4% in 1951".[154] This decline was mirrored in the composition of the professional labour force as a whole. Between 1931 and 1961, the percentage of women in the professions fell from 49.5% in 1931 to 43.2% in 1961.[155] (See Table 8 and Table 9.)

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[152](cont'd) of the labour market. Instead, they maintain that "sociologists have shown that employers pay lower wages in predominantly female occupations than are commensurate with the skills and on the job training required"; it is not women's lack of education but devaluation of what they do which results in their poor pay. Paula England, "Review of 'The Economics of Sex Differentials'," *Signs* 6 (Spring 1981):525. Juanita Kreps maintains that "In contrast to the isolation of other minority or marginal groups who suffer educational disadvantage, women claim that they are overeducated for what they do." Juanita Kreps, ed., *Sex in the Marketplace: American Women Women at Work*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), p. viii.

[153] Ostry, *Occupational Composition*, p. 32.

[154] Meltz, *Changes*, p. 33.

[155] Noah Meltz, *Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931-1961*, (Ottawa: Department of Labour, Report Number 11, September, 1963), p. 16.

TABLE 8:

Percentage Distribution of Working Women by Leading Occupational Group.

CANADA 1921 - 1951

Occup. Group	1921	1931	1941	1951
Clerical	18.7	17.7	18.3	27.5
Personal Service	25.8	33.8	34.2	21.0
Professional	19.1	17.8	15.7	14.4
Commerical & Financial	8.5	8.3	8.8	10.5
Manufacturing & Mechanical	17.8	12.7	15.4	14.6
Other	10.1	9.6	7.7	11.9
TOTAL	100.0	99.9	100.1	99.9

SOURCE: *Women at Work in Canada*, (Ottawa: Department of Labour, 1965), p. 28.

TABLE 9:

Women as a Percentage of All Workers in Major Occupational Groups,

CANADA 1921 - 1951

Occup. Group	1921	1931	1941	1951
Personal Service	68.7	69.5	72.8	64.1
Clerical	41.8	45.1	50.1	56.7
Professional	54.1	49.5	46.1	43.5
Commerical & Financial	23.0	23.1	29.4	35.2
Manufacturing & Mechanical	24.0	18.7	19.0	18.7
Agricultural	1.7	2.1	1.7	3.9
Propretorial & Managerial	4.3	4.8	7.2	8.9
Transportation & Communcation	8.4	6.5	5.3	8.2

SOURCE: *Women at Work in Canada*, (Ottawa: Department of Labour, 1965), p. 28.

At the local level conditions in Edmonton mirrored the experience of working women in the rest of Canada during the decade. Although most of the war plants were concentrated in the east,[156] job opportunities expanded in Edmonton because of the demands of war contracts. The number of women at the Great West Garment Factory nearly doubled over the course of the war,[157] and there were "scores of women" who worked at Aircraft Repair.[158] The service sector grew, at least partially in response to the influx of Americans who were involved in constructing the Alaska highway, but the most noticeable growth was in the clerical area, where the number nearly doubled. And, like the rest of the country, the percentage of women in the professions declined. These two trends--the growth of the clerical area, and the decline in the percentage of women teachers compared to the total number of women workers--continued until the end of the decade. (See Appendix A: Women Wage Earners, Edmonton, 1931-1961)

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[156] Ruth Pierson, "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II," in *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*, ed. Alison Prentice and Susan Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977), p. 128.

[157] After receiving a contract from the federal government, GWG added a $125,000 extension to their plant; the number of employees nearly doubled from 250 in 1940 to 488 in 1942, 425 of whom were women. January 7, 1941, February 5, 1942 newspaper clippings, GWG file. City of Edmonton Archives.

[158] There was a brief reference to the scores of women at Aircraft Repair in an undated newspaper clipping in the L.D.Parney papers, but there was no indication in the 1946 census that they were still employed. L.D. Parney Papers, City of Edmonton Archives. C. M. Hill in *Women in the Canadian Economy* states that women were moved out of aircraft factories after the war to make room for returning soldiers. Christina M. Hill, "Women in the Canadian Economy," in *Canada Ltd. The Political Economy of Dependency*, ed. R.M. Laxer (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973), p. 93.

C. INDIVIDUALIST AND STRUCTURAL EXPLANATIONS OF THESE CHANGES

Why did the gender division of labour continue despite changes in economic structure, changes in the composition of the female labour force and changes in the labour force participation rate of women in general? A number of supply factors, all of which emphasize the individual and individual motivation, have been advanced as explanations for the continuation of the gender division of labour.

According to Edward Chafe, attitudinal change in society made it possible for women to work. The high labour demands of the Second World War had provided jobs for older married women which would explain the rapid increase in the female labour force participation rate. During the Second World War, everyone had had to contribute to the war effort, including married middle class women, so that employment for that group had been legitimized. After the war the rapid growth of clerical and service jobs allowed these women to continue to work because these types of jobs were not "inconsistent with middle class status",[15] hence explaining the growth in the percentage of older, married salesclerks.

A number of other historians, however, have found little correlation between changing attitudes and female labour force participation rates. In their study of women and work in nineteenth century Europe, historians Louise Tilly and Joan Scott argue that:

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[15] Chafe, "Looking Backwards," p. 18.

> If, however, notions about individual rights did transform cultural values and lead to the extension of rights to women, and if opportunities for women to work stemmed from the same source, we should be able to trace an increase in the number of women working as they gained political rights. [However] there was little relationship between women's political rights and women's work. The right to vote did not increase the size of the female work force, neither did the number of women in the labour force dramatically increase just prior to their gaining the vote...Moreover, great numbers of women worked outside the home during most of the nineteenth century, long before they enjoyed civil and political rights...Finally, rather than a steady increase in the size of the female labour force, the pattern was one of increase followed by decline.[160]

Eric Richards also documents the same pattern in his study of women in the British economy since 1700. Women's labour force participation rate had hovered between 25% and 33% between 1850 and 1960,[161] a time of dramatic attitudinal change, and "only in the middle decades of the twentieth century has the economic trend produced a level of female labour force involvement reminiscent of the pre-industrial economy two centuries earlier."[162]

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[160] Joan Wallach Scott and Louise A. Tilly, "Women's Work and the Family in Nineteenth Century Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1975):37.
[161] Ibid., p. 70.

It has also been argued that the Second World War, rather than acting as a catalyst for change in the perceptions of women's proper role, had little effect on attitudes about the propriety of married women working, and may actually have even contributed to a more traditional view of women. In two Canadian studies on the effects of the Second World War on attitudes regarding women's proper role, Yvonne Mathews-Klein and Ruth Pierson both state that the war acted to contain change rather than to resolve it. Klein[163]notes that nearly all of the National Film Board films of the forties and fifties "concern themselves with women working; all of them, whether intentionally or not, establish limits of women's full participation in the labour force which arise out of an underlying, and fixed, notion of what is appropriate female behavior."[164] Ruth Pierson documents the same effect in her study of working women in Canada during the Second World War. Although women did work in what had previously been seen as men's jobs, they continued to be viewed within a traditional context: welding was likened to sewing, vanity was more important that safety, et cetera. The war's potential for change was contained by a rigid emphasis on sex roles."[165]

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[162] Eric Richards, "Women in the British Economy Since About 1700: An Interpretation," *History* 59 (October 1974):338.

[163] Anderson notes the same phenomenon in the United States. She states that "media depictions of the 'new woman' created by the war expressed a special concern that the economic change caused by the war not be allowed to diminish tradional femininity or threaten women's fulfillment of their family responsibilities" Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 10.

[164] Yvonne Matthews-Klein, "How They Saw Us: Images of Women in National Film Board Films of the 1940's and 1950's," *Atlantis* 4 (Spring 1979):21.

As Eleanor Straub notes, it is "'the extent to which old institutions, values, and modes of thought remained intact'"[166] which is more significant than the extent to which they changed. Two comparable American studies have also examined the persistence of such values. In a study of changing attitudes towards working women in polls taken from the late 1930's to the early 1960's, Valerie Oppenheimer states that

> It is illuminating ...to compare the results of the 1945 AIPO poll with those of 1937 and 1938, all of which used similar questions, whether or not the respondents approved of married women earning money in business or industry if their husbands were capable of supporting them. It was right after the war, and war industry was, of course, no longer relevant. If the war-time experience rather than just the wartime crisis had had some effect on attitudes, it should have been indicated in the answers. As it turns out, however, about the same

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[165] Pierson, *Canadian Women: The Second World War*, p. 27; See also Ruth Pierson, "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II," in *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*, ed. Alison Prentice and Susan Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977).

[166] Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 10.

> proportion of married women were working in 1945 as in 1937 and 1938...It is nonetheless surprising how relatively little change in attitude is indicated, despite the enormous wartime increase in female employment.[47]

In addition, Karen Anderson, in *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations and the Status of Women During World War II*, persuasively argues that the war, rather than having a liberating effect on women's role, had just the opposite. Because of the anxiety and stress inherent in war

> traditional attitudes and behaviors displayed considerable tenacity under the pressure of war time circumstance. In many ways, the war reinforced and perpetuated existing role divisions and their ideological underpinnings. With its emphasis on the centrality of the male role of warrior and protector it widened the experimental gap between men and women and reaffirmed the greater cultural value attached to male activities.[48]

Similarly, the war acted to reaffirm the traditional female role, despite increasing evidence to the contrary. As Anderson notes:

> Thus, the exaggerated emphasis on family life in the post war era could also be considered a part of the legacy of the war experience. Despite the changes wrought by the war, conventional attitudes regarding

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[47] Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 47.
[48] Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 75.

> the role of women within the family retained their appeal...Although the gap between normative expectations and actual behavior had widened considerably during the war years, the war generated no ideological or institutional legacy that could aid in resolving the growing contradictions in women's lives.[169]

Another supply factor that has been advanced as an explanation for women's increasing labour force participation has been the increasing use of labour saving devices, which has supposedly freed married women from housework, allowing them to enter the paid labour force. However, Valerie Oppenheimer points out that no direct causal link exists between the increasing use of labour saving devices and women's increasing labour force participation. Although labour saving devices such as electric washers were widely sold by the early 1920's in the United States[170]

> it was not until 1940 that we get a radical change in the work rate of married women. If labour saving devices were the most important factor in the situation, we should have expected something of a gradual shift to this pattern as the mechanization of the home advanced.[171]

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[169] Ibid., p. 178.

[170] Joann Vanek, "Time Spent in Housework," in *The Economics of Women and Work*, ed. Alice H. Amsden (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1980), p. 86.

[171] Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 33.

Oppenheimer goes on to state that the "proliferation of such products and services may in part be a response to the demand for them--a demand generated by the increased employment of women."[172]

The proliferation of labour saving devices over the last half century may not mean a great deal anyway, unless it is correlated with the actual amount of time spent on housework. An electric washer may not mean a woman spends less time doing laundry; it may mean she washes the sheets more often. In a Canadian study done in the mid-seventies on housework, Humphreys and Meissner found that "according to several comparisons of earlier and more recent time budget studies, the average hours of women's housework have either increased overall, or at best, remained the same despite changes in household technology."[173] Duties expand to fill the time available, according to Joan Vanek's study of the amount of time spent on housework over the last fifty years. The reduction on the amount of time spent on house work comes after the woman is employed, not before. Indeed, the number of hours spent on housework by women unemployed outside the home has remained fairly constant over the last fifty years. In the late 1960's women spent 55 hours a week, much longer than the average work week, on housework; in the early 1920's women spent 52 hours a week.

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[172] Ibid.

[173] Martin Meissner and Elizabeth W. Humphreys, "No Exit for Wives: Sexual Division of Labour and the Cumulation of Household Demands," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 12 (November 1975):424.

What had shifted was not the actual number of hours, but the type of housework which was done. Labour saving devices had either allowed women to spend more time doing more of the same task--washing the sheets more often--or it had allowed them to spend the available time doing other things, like shopping, which had assumed much greater importance over the years. The actual number of hours unemployed women spend on housework had not been reduced, thus freeing them to participate in the paid labour market. Only once women were employed do the number of hours spent on housework fall.[174]

Other theorists' assertion that the supply factor propelling women into the labour force has been economic need has been contradicted by the argument that the rise in real income since the 1940's has occurred in conjunction with a sharp increase in the female labour force participation rate.[175] In *Incomes of Canadians*, Jenny Podoluk notes "a continued rise in real incomes [which] began in the 1940's";[176] real incomes increased by 34% between 1941 and 1951 and by 44% between 1951 and 1961. As for women's real income, Noah Meltz found that their average earnings rose substantially during the forties including their earnings as a percentage of male earnings. This rise in real incomes in both Canada and the United States during the 1940's and 1950's has lead Oppenheimer to conclude that the explanation of economic need as a factor contributing to women's increased labour force participation rate "is probably the least satisfactory of all."[177]

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[174] Vanek, "Housework," pp. 82-90.
[175] Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 29.
[176] Jenny Podoluk, *Incomes of Canadians*, (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1968), p. 15.

Historians, economists and sociologists have argued that it is not supply factors which have caused both the rapid increase in women's labour force participation rate and the changing composition of the female labour force since the Second World War. To Oppenheimer, attitudinal change has followed, rather than preceded, economic change.[178] Indeed historical evidence has shown little correlation between attitudes regarding women's proper role and women's labour force participation rate. And, despite a commonly held view that World War II acted as a catalyst on attitudes, several historians have argued that the war engendered not more liberal, but more traditional attitudes regarding women's role. Thus they call into question both the supposed effects of the war and the importance of attitudinal change as it affects women's labour force participation rate.

Neither the growth in the use of labour saving devices nor economic need are adequate explanations as supply factors propelling women into the labour force. In the first case, the growth of labour saving devices could be a response rather than a "cause of the rising work rate".[179] In the second case, inasmuch as the post war era has been a time of rising prosperity, as Oppenheimer notes:

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[177] Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 29. In Canada the unemployment rate was also very low during the 1940's; after 1941 it was never more than 3%. Meltz, *Changes*, p. 24. Also, although married women's participation rate is supposed to be inversely correlated to their husband's income, this correlation "has ceased to be consistent in recent years." Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 62.
[178] Ibid., p. 63.

> it hardly seems likely that the rise in female employment can be accounted for merely by the flooding of the labour market with a supply of female labour. Wages for female workers, as well as for males, have been rising in recent years, and this hardly seems consistent with the view that the increase in supply has brought about an increase in employment.[180]

Finally, Oppenheimer maintains that if supply factors had been dominant, there would have been a displacement of male workers by female workers in at least some segments of the labour market, but this did not happen. The tide of women workers after the Second World War did not replace men. They entered jobs which were already female, particularly office work and clerking in stores.[181]

To Oppenheimer, supply factors do not provide an adequate explanation of women's increasing labour force participation rate, nor do they explain the changing composition of the female labour force. As she states:

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[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid., p. 56.

[181] To those who would argue that the rapidly increasing numbers of working women after the Second World War must have displaced male workers, Oppenheimer replies: "There is not much evidence to support the view that the rising supply of female workers brought about an increase in female employment because emale workers displaced older (and less educated) males...the rises in female employment have occurred in occupations where the type of male worker who was supposed to have been displaced have been least likely to have been an important element. Ibid., p. 59.

> Supply factors alone fail to account for the post war rise in the female work rate, or in the great changes in the age pattern of labour force participation. This suggests that the answer must be either in the effect of demand factors alone or in the interaction of supply and demand.[182]

In their analysis of demand factors, segmented labour market theorists contend that changes in the composition of the labour force as well as the labour force participation rate of certain groups result from shifts in demand for labour, not from changes in the supply of labour. This shift in demand for labour reflects changes in the economic structure; as the economic structure changes the demand for a particular type of labour changes as well.[183] Inasmuch as the demand for labour is gender specific, the labour force participation rate of men and women is differentially affected, as Oppenheimer notes:

> The basic industrial and occupational shifts experienced in our society in the course of its economic development have led, on balance, to a rise in the demand for female labour--a rise that has been particularly marked in the 1940-1960 period.

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[182] Ibid., p. 63.

[183] Oppenheimer states: "The composition of demand for labour, if not also increases in the amount of labour demanded" are the result of "increases in the relative demand for manufactured goods and for services, because of differentials in productivity among in productivity among industrial sectors, and because of increased specialization." Ibid., p. 156.

> This growth in demand has been due primarily to the fact that the most rapidly expanding industries and occupations have for some time been major employers of women...Since there is no evidence that the supply of female labour is responsive to labour demand, the most likely explanation of the post-war rise in the female work rate is that an increasing number of women have been drawn into the labour force in response to an expansion in job opportunities.'[184]

This unprecedented growth of the service and clerical area after the Second World War led to an equally unprecedented demand for female workers, which was directly responsible for the changing composition of the female labour force, the rising labour force participation rate of women and the continued segmentation of the labour market. This demand for women workers, however, could not be satisfied by recourse to the traditionally preferred woman worker who was young and single. Due to the lower fertility rates induced by the Depression and some shift to earlier marriages, a declining supply of young, unmarried women meant that employers were forced to abandon their prejudices against older, married women and hire them as well.[185]

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[184] Ibid., p. 187.

[185] Oppenheimer states that "American employers have not only demanded women in certain jobs but, in the past at least, they typically demanded particular types of women. In general, in the pre World War II period employers preferred young and unmarried women. Studies of public policy and practice and of private employers hiring preferences all indicated that in the 1930's and 1940's there was

These employer practices barring married women from employment or retention after marriage had been quite widespread in Canada until after the end of the second World War, reflecting an ideology which saw women primarily as workers within the home, and therefore not needing paid work. Mary Vipond points out that "many school boards insisted that their women employees resign on marriage, and the Canadian civil service adopted a similar rule in 1921."[186] In *Women at Work in Canada* the authors state that "prior to World War II most employers did not hire or retain married women as employees."[187] Thus Oppenheimer contends that it was the rapidly rising demand for female labour, rather than change in supply, which led inevitably to the changing composition of the female labour force. She states:

> All this lends weight to the argument that a greatly increased supply was not the dominant and initiating factor in the large post-war growth of the older, married female labour force. It seems suspiciously fortuitous, after all, that just as the supply of the typical worker of 1940 and earlier was declining, the supply of older, married women to the labour force was, for entirely different reasons, rising. A much more reasonable explanation is that

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[185](cont'd) considerable job discrimination against both older and married women." Ibid., p. 187.

[186] Mary Vipond, "The Image of Women in Mass Circulation Magazines," in *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*, ed. Alison Prentice and Susan Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977), p. 118.

[187] no author, *Women at Work*, p. 24.

> the combination of the rising demand for female labour and the declining supply of the typical worker opened up job opportunities for married and older women that had not previously existed. The great influx of older, married women into the labour force was, in good part, a response to increased job opportunities--not a creator of such opportunities."[188]

Even though the composition of the female labour force changed after the Second World War in the face of increased demand for women workers and a decreasing supply of the traditionally preferred woman worker, the gender-segregated nature of the labour market continued to exist. Women's share of clerical and service jobs continued to expand; women's share of the professions continued to decline.[189]

A number of explanations have been advanced for women's inability to maintain or expand their share of the professions during the 1940's. In both Canada and the United States researchers have pinpointed changing economic structure, a decline in jobs traditionally done by men, the increasing availability of education and the effects of organizational change on the female dominated professions as factors contributing to the movement of men into the female dominated professions. According to Noah Meltz, during the decade straddling the Second World War not only the professional area but also the educated labour force grew. "In the decade 1941-1951, the increase in the proportion of persons in the labour force with thirteen plus years of schooling was more than sufficient to satisfy the increased demand for professionals."[190]

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[188] Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 187.

[189] Ostry, *Occupational Composition*, pp. 77-78; no author, *Women at Work*, p. 28.

Thus the prospects for other women professionals as well as women teachers were not promising. A tight professional job market coupled with competition from men meant that for many women there was to be no place in the educational field. In a study done in the mid seventies, Juanita Kreps states that:

> One author recently warned that the professional job market for women was in trouble, particularly because of the increasing competition from men in such fields as teaching, library science and health services. The competition will intensify, moreover, as the demand for some male dominated occupations declines. When the male intrusions into formerly female oriented professions are coupled with the growing number of women seeking jobs, women's job prospects do not appear promising.[191]

A similar situation appears to have existed during the 1930's, thus leaving a "Depression decade legacy", according to Lois Scharf's study on working women in the United States:

> Economic competition, structural change, and public

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[190] Meltz, *Changes*, p. 59.
[191] Kreps, *Sex in the Marketplace*, p. 38.

> sentiment all worked to the advantage of men at the expense of female teachers generally. The professional progress of women during the previous decade, even within this feminized field, came to a halt--a Depression decade legacy for women that continued beyond the 1930's.[192]

Recognizing this legacy, David Tyack and Myra Strober note that because of several factors "the number of male teachers increased markedly in both elementary and secondary schools during the post war years". First of all,

> the G.I. Bill had provided opportunities for a college education for lower middle class men, the traditional pool from which male teachers were recruited, and the rapid increase in the number of new administrative positions provided a carrot to aspiring young men.[193]

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[192] Scharf, *To Work and to Wed*, p. 85. And as she notes, it was particularly young single women teachers who lost ground to men, not their married sisters, who managed to retain a foothold. Ibid. In a later study done of the sexual division of labour in the United States, Francine Blau and Wallace Hendricks note the movement of men into the female dominated professions, a process which was not reciprocal. They state: "the share of males in predominantly (over 60%) female jobs continued to increase between 1960 and 1970...the proportion of males in predominantly male (10%-20%) fell." Francine D. Blau and Wallace E. Hendricks, "Occupational Segregation by Sex: Trends and Prospects," *The Journal of Human Resources* 14 (Spring, 1979):203. They note that "this was in part due to the greater increase in job opportunities in the female than in the male sector. However, while males moved primarily into the typically female professions (for example, elementary school teachers, librarians, nurse, social worker) the movement of women into male categories was concentrated in sales and clerical jobs, some of which altered dramatically in sex composition during these years." Ibid. p. 206.

[193] David B. Tyack and Myra H. Strober, "Jobs and Gender: A

Secondly, by the end of the 1940's, women teachers were no longer cheaper to employ than their male counterparts, a fact that had long structured the teaching profession. Women as cheap but educated labour in the schools--and elsewhere--had been a long standing employment practice.[194] According to Alison Prentice's study of the feminization of teaching in Ontario in the last half of the nineteenth century, educated women supplied labour for half the price: and "over and over again local as well as provincial officers explained that female teachers were not only as good as male teachers but could be had at savings of 50%."[195] Mary Vipond noted in a study of women in Canada in the 1920's that women teachers were regularly paid 25% less than men with equal qualifications.[196] Women were cheaper at

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[193] (cont'd) History of the Structuring of Educational Employment by Sex," in *Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials*, ed. Patricia Schmuck and W.W. Charters (New York: Academic Press, 1981), p. 147.

[194] Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, pp. 95, 98-99.

[195] Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada, 1845 - 1875," *Social History* (May 1975):58.

[196] Vipond, "The Image of Women," p. 119. Barry Bergen points out that in 1917 a British study revealed that women teachers with equal qualifications were paid less than men. He also points out that "the willingness of the government and schools to hire more women because they worked for less was a significant factor in the feminization of elementary teaching in England". Barry H. Bergen, "Only a Schoolmaster: Gender, Class and the Effort to Professionalize Elementary Teaching in England, 1870 - 1910," *History of Education Quarterly* 22 (Spring 1982):14. As Hatcher and Richardson note in their comparable study in the United States, this is a standard explanation of the feminization of teaching, J.G. Richardson and Brenda W. Hatcher, "The Feminization of School Teaching 1870-1920." *Work and Occupations* 10 (February 1983):82, although as Prentice notes, not a complete one. She states: "It is thus clear that any explanation that ties the low status and salaries of urban female school teachers exclusively to Victorian attitudes to

least partially because they were excluded from other occupations;[197] their continued cheapness was ensured through the use of the positional pay scale, whereby elementary teachers, usually women, were paid less than secondary teachers and administrators, usually men.

Employing women as cheap labour allowed school boards to use the extra money to hire and retain men as senior teachers and administrators, which the boards desired for a number of reasons. Men were seen as lifetime teachers, women were not. In her study of the feminization of teaching in Ontario in the late nineteenth century, Alison Prentice notes that:

> higher salaries were energetically pursued by school men of the same era, as an essential part of their campaign to make the teaching profession respectable and to induce well-qualified people to remain in it as a life time career...Relatively higher salaries could be made available for male superintendents, inspectors, principal teachers and headmasters, yet money could be saved at the same time, by engaging

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[196] (cont'd) women combined with school boards' need to save money, tells only part of the story. Nineteenth century city school administrators also had very specific agendas for the men under their jurisdiction... It was [male teachers'] professional interest that chiefly commanded the attention of the educational authorities. Equal avenues to advancement and status did not exist for women within the new bureaucracies." Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers, Gender and Bureaucratizing School Systems in Nineteenth Century Montreal and Toronto," *History of Education Quarterly* 24 (Spring 1984):90.

[197] Strober and Best, "The Female/Male Salary Differential," p. 221.

> women at low salaries to teach at the lower grades."[198]

Myra Strober and Laura Best point out in their analysis of women teachers with the San Francisco School Board in the late 1870's that the use of men as administrators were thought to minimize management training costs because

> "men...were regarded as 'permanent' members of the work force (although their attachment to jobs as teachers was generally rather weak.) Men were also considered good disciplinarians, and in general, had higher status as compared to women of their own social class."[199]

In an American study of women teachers during the 1930's, Lois Scharf also pinpoints the attributes of disciplinarians and the advantages of male role models as reasons why men were preferred, at least in junior and senior high schools.[200] Likewise an article reprinted in the *Alberta Teachers' Association Magazine* in 1943 states:

> in considerable part, the deterioration of discipline has been produced by the diversion from teaching of the young men. These young, vigorous men, athletes , coaches, recreation workers and vocational teachers whom boys imitate and admire, are indispensable.

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[198] Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching," in *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*, ed. Alison Prentice and Susan Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977), p. 51.
[199] Ibid., p. 223.
[200] Scharf, *To Work and to Wed*, p. 84.

A codicil to these comments was provided by the editor, who notes that "while the article is written about American schools and American education, it is also true of Canadian schools and Canadian education."[201]

The higher status of males was also crucial to the maintenance of the school. As Myra Strober and David Tyack note, male administrators provided links to the ruling elite which women could not provide: "male leaders were important to the social credit rating of the organization."[202] As teaching became increasing bureaucratized, and the link between the school and the local power structure became more important, this practice became even more important.[203] These strong links with a potentially protective elite are also important for the process of professionalization, because, as Barry Bergen notes:

> "'professions ultimately depend upon the power of the state, and they originally emerge by the grace of powerful protectors. The privileged position of a profession is thus secured by the political and economic influence of the elite which sponsors it.'"[204]

Alison Prentice, David Tyack and Myra Strober argue that in the act of professionalizing to advance their own interests, male teachers used the reorganization of the school system and the increasing bureaucratization to exclude women.[205] According to Alison Prentice, "educational administrators developed bureaucratic modes of organization chiefly with male aspirations for power and social mobility in mind."[206] Myra Strober and David Tyack reiterate Prentice's point, noting that "the managerial aspects of education were removed from the job of teaching and the new, solely managerial positions of principal and superintendent were created. From the beginning, sex segregation was part of the design of the urban, graded school."[207] And, as Michael Apple has noted, once a job has been transformed by the entry of large numbers of women, it is difficult for that job to be perceived as an apprenticeship for a managerial position. Thus the very fact that it was women who taught precluded them from being perceived as potential administrators.[208]

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[201] Willard Waller, "Revolt in the Classroom," *The ATA Magazine*, December 1943, pp. 25-26.
[202] Strober and Tyack, "Why do Women Teach," p. 500.
[203] Myra H. Strober and Laura Best, "The Female/Male Salary Differential in Public Schools. Some Lessons from San Francisco 1879," *Economic Inquiry* XVII (April 1979):223.
[204] Bergen, "Only a Schoolmaster," p. 7.

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[205] In a similar argument regarding both the reasons why curriculum reform was adopted and its effects, Michael Apple notes that neither can be understood without reference to gender. Curriculum reform was undertaken partially because it was women who taught and men who made the decisions, and it was resisted, or at least partially resisted, for those same reasons. At the same time it is necessary to understand that curriculum reform may imply a deskilling of a previously autonomous job, with obviously very different results for women teachers and male managers. See Michael W. Apple, *Work, Gender and Teaching*, (Occasional Paper No. 22, Department of Secondary Education, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, 1982). Michael W. Apple, *Teaching and Women's Work: A Comparative Historical and Ideological Analysis*, (Occasional Paper No. 25, Department of Secondary Education, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, 1983).

[206] Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers, Gender and Bureaucratizing School Systems in Nineteenth Century Montreal and Toronto," *History of Education Quarterly* 24 (Spring 1984):84.

[207] Strober and Tyack, "Why do Women Teach," p. 499.

Bureaucratization, as Alison Prentice notes, did not necessarily have to result in a further hardening of the division of labour based on sex. But combined with the exclusionary process inherent in professionalization, it did.

> Teaching and schooling were becoming public activities, open to the scrutiny of government officials, tax payers, and other educators. This change could have affected the sexes in any number of ways, at best creating new and comparable opportunities. Instead, it gave rise to education hierarchies and modes of organization which reinforced and promoted sexual inequality.[209] Nor did the growth of such bureaucracies lead to justice or equity for those school mistresses whose employees they became...Willing or unwilling, they were participants in systems which, by their very structure, were designed to perpetuate, and, indeed, promote unequal relations between men and women.[210]

This process of exclusion combined with the fact that a permanent attachment to the teaching force was not possible for most women in the face of strictures against the retention or employment of married women teachers, meant that men would continue to be preferred at the higher levels.[211]

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[208] Apple, *Teaching and Women's Work*, p. 3.
[209] Danylewycz and Prentice, "Teachers, Gender and Bureaucratizing School System," p. 95.
[210] Ibid., p. 96.

Once the positional pay scale was abandoned, making women as expensive as men to employ, women lost the one advantage they had in the one area in teaching where they were well-represented -- elementary education. As Alison Prentice notes, "it was [male teachers'] professional interest that chiefly commanded the attention of the educational authorities".[212] Once women teachers lost the advantage of cheapness with the abandonment of the positional pay scale in favor of the single salary schedule, men could be hired in their place. As schools became more bureaucratized, and as proportionately more jobs were allocated to administrative functions within the school, teaching as a stepping stone to administration became more alluring to men. Those factors, combined with a tight professional job market, meant that an increase in the supply of men to teaching met a long-term demand. Hence the decline in the percentage of women teachers continued, despite the expanding opportunities in teaching.

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[211] Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 131.
[212] Danylewycz and Prentice, "Teachers, Gender and Bureaucratizing School System," p. 90.

IV. WOMEN IN TEACHING 1940 - 1950

During this decade, the proportion and the position of women teachers declined despite high demand and attempts to increase the supply. In Edmonton the removal of certain barriers did not significantly change this situation, as a more detailed examination of statistical data reveals.

A. WOMEN TEACHERS IN CANADA AND ALBERTA: PARTICIPATION AND POSITION

Nowhere was women's declining position in the professional field more noticeable or more significant than in teaching. Noah Meltz notes that between 1931 and 1961 the percentage of teachers who were women fell from 78% to 70.7%.[213] Indeed "over the long term period (1931-1961)...women school teachers increased only one half as fast as the whole female labour force. Their share of the female labour force declined from almost one-tenth in 1931 to the 1961 figure of 6.7%."[214] Like the professional field as a whole, the proportion of men expanded: "the number of male school teachers increased relatively more over the three decades."[215] (See Table 10.)[216]

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[213] Idem, *Changes*, p. 16.
[214] Ibid., p. 17.
[215] Ibid.
[216] In the United States two researchers looking at changing patterns in the gender division of labour in teaching noted that "the proportion of women elementary school principals declined from the 1930's to the 1970's." They maintained that this was due to a combination of two factors: more school principalships were available, and men with college educations had fewer job options in other areas." Jean Stockard and Miriam Johnson, "The Source and Dynamics of Sexual Inequality in the Profession of Education," in

TABLE 10:

Women Teachers, Elementary and Secondary, CANADA 1901 - 1971

	Women as a percentage of Total Occupations	Percentage of Female Labour Force in Occupation
1901	78.0	13.0
1911	80.6	9.3
1921	81.9	10.2
1931	78.0	9.7
1941	74.6	7.7
1951	71.7	6.4
1961	70.7	6.7
1971	66.4	6.1

SOURCE: Patricia Connelly, *Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force*, (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1978), pp. 92-93.

Indeed this lower participation existed despite high demand. By 1943 the increasing availability of wartime jobs had led to a severe teacher shortage all across Canada, and particularly in Alberta. On June 17, 1943, the federal

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[216](cont'd) *Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials*, ed. Patricia Schmuck and W.W. Charters (New York: Academic Press, 1981), p. 244.

government passed an Order-in-Council which prohibited teachers from leaving their posts unless they wished to enlist in the Armed Forces.[217] After the war re-establishment credits for veterans could also be used for teacher training.

In Alberta other strategies to offset this shortage particularly in the rural areas were used: the centralization of schools despite transportation problems in rural areas; correspondence schools, (an approach unique to Alberta); and new recruitment practices. The latter included: hiring former women teachers who were married; lowering the entrance requirements to normal schools; vastly shortening the teacher training course in 1943; raising the minimum salary and in 1946 in the Edmonton Public system, introducing a pay scale based on education and experience rather than on position held.

Yet these attempts did not completely alleviate the teacher shortage, especially in rural areas. In November 1943 there were in Alberta: 125 classrooms without teachers, forty to fifty schools with unsatisfactory arrangements, and 330 holders of War Emergency Certificates (ie. with a six week normal school course). After the war the shortage continued.

One change which did affect the position of women within the teaching profession was the differentiation of the job description into teaching and managing, especially after the war. The centralization of schools had encouraged the advent of the administrator but female principals of one room schools had been phased out. More importantly, superintendents emphasized this differentiation by having principals "learn their jobs". Instead of their advancement being based on teaching competence, potential administrators were promoted into a job where they would learn by doing. Assertiveness would be valued. Would women be thought to have the necessary assertiveness? How would their administrative potential be rated by male superintendents? [218]

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[217] no author, no title, *ATA Magazine*, October-November 1943, p. 9.

B. WOMEN TEACHERS IN EDMONTON, PARTICULARLY THE EDMONTON PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARD: PARTICIPATION AND POSITION

Inasmuch as detailed studies of women teachers in private schools and in the separate school board in Edmonton are unavailable, comments on women teachers in Edmonton will refer to those working within the Edmonton Public School Board. With respect to their participation and position, both general background information and more detailed statistical data will be considered.

During the war years, the Edmonton Public School Board, like others in Canada and Alberta, had problems recruiting teachers. In 1943, at the peak of the labour shortage, the Edmonton Public School Board was forced to hire teachers above the schedule.

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[218] See John Chalmers, *Schools of the Foothills Province*, pp. 102-138 for a complete discussion of changes in the Alberta schools during the 1940's.

This severe labour shortage also resulted in the recruitment, particularly in the rural areas, of former women teachers who were married. As an article in the *ATA Magazine* noted, school boards had "gone through the province with a fine tooth comb getting back to teaching hundreds who had left the profession",[219] many of whom were married women. In Edmonton, in 1943, partially as a result of the severe teacher shortage, the Public Board was forced to rescind a policy dismissing women teachers on marriage which had been in existence since 1916, a common practice with boards across North America. (See Appendix B: The Married Women's Teachers' Case, Edmonton, 1943)[220] Yet despite the continued teacher shortage in the next year (15% of the teaching staff, ie. 43 men and 16 women, were on leave of absence for war work or service)[221] a large number of married women teachers were still out of work in Edmonton.[222] However, by the end of the decade a substantially greater percentage of married women taught elementary than at the beginning.

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[219] *ATA Magazine*, January 1944, p. 7.

[220] Valerie Oppenheimer notes that in 1941, 61% of school boards required women teachers to resign on marrying. Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 29. As Lois Scharf notes, the controversy over women teachers was long-standing. She states: "Bars to their employment became common during the 1920's, but when the Depression compounded the pressure against working wives generally, the economic competition for jobs, and the financial hardships of school systems, the status of married women teachers deteriorated further. Nowhere was proposed and actual discrimination against working wives more pronounced." Lois Scharf, *To Work and to Wed: Female Employment, Feminism and the Great Depression*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 75. And nowhere was it more selective: "Teaching wives were perceived as and actually were middle class women who were challenging social values. They were not just economic competitors for jobs at a time of economic distress but also social threats to treasured institutions and behavioral patterns. Married charwomen who cleaned the schools were not subject to the furor that raged over the status of married women teachers." Ibid., p. 79.

After the war, in 1946, the introduction of the first single salary schedule for an urban board in Canada gave the appearance that the position of women teachers might also be improved. Salaries were no longer determined by position taught, so that intermediate or high school teachers could not be paid more than their elementary counterparts. Instead, education and experience were to be the prime determinants.[223] Moreover, the pay differential in favour of male vice principals was also removed.[224] This change, supported by complaints against the positional pay scale from as early as the 1920's, worked against the high school locals who had propped up the former salary schedule based on position.

Subsequently, the continuing shortage (low supply) resulted in other recruitment practices to increase supply which could have benefitted women teachers. As Mike Kostek notes:

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[221] M.A. Kostek, *Looking Back: A Century of Education in Edmonton Public Schools*, (Edmonton: Edmonton Public School Board, 1982), p. 266.
[222] Thus for married women teachers demand appeared to be selective. He states: "By 1944 (in Edmonton) it was evident there were dozens of teachers, mostly married women, for whom no positions were available." Chalmers, *Schools*, p. 239.
[223] Kostek, *Looking Back*, p. 267.
[224] Ibid.

> the Leduc oil discovery in 1947 and the subsequent surge of population from rural areas to Edmonton forced Superintendent Sheppard and the Board to review hiring practices. In 1947, for the first time in the history of the Board, the Superintendent requested permission to recruit inexperienced teachers for the Edmonton Public Schools.[225]

Until then, only the two top graduates from the Normal School were hired; all other applicants needed at least three years successful teaching experience.[226] Teaching opportunities with the Edmonton Public School Board were expanding along with the growing population.

In general, the prospects for women teachers during this decade looked promising due to low supply/high demand, and the removal of certain barriers to participation. But does the statistical data suggest that the participation and position of women teachers changed?

Of the total teaching force employed by the Edmonton Public School Board[227] between 1940 and 1950, 60.5% were female, 39% were male. The total number of teachers employed each year fell from 444 in 1940 to 419 in 1943, the lowest point of the decade, and then rose steadily to 598 teachers in 1950. Of the teachers who taught with the Edmonton Public School Board between 1940 and 1950, 55.4% were elementary

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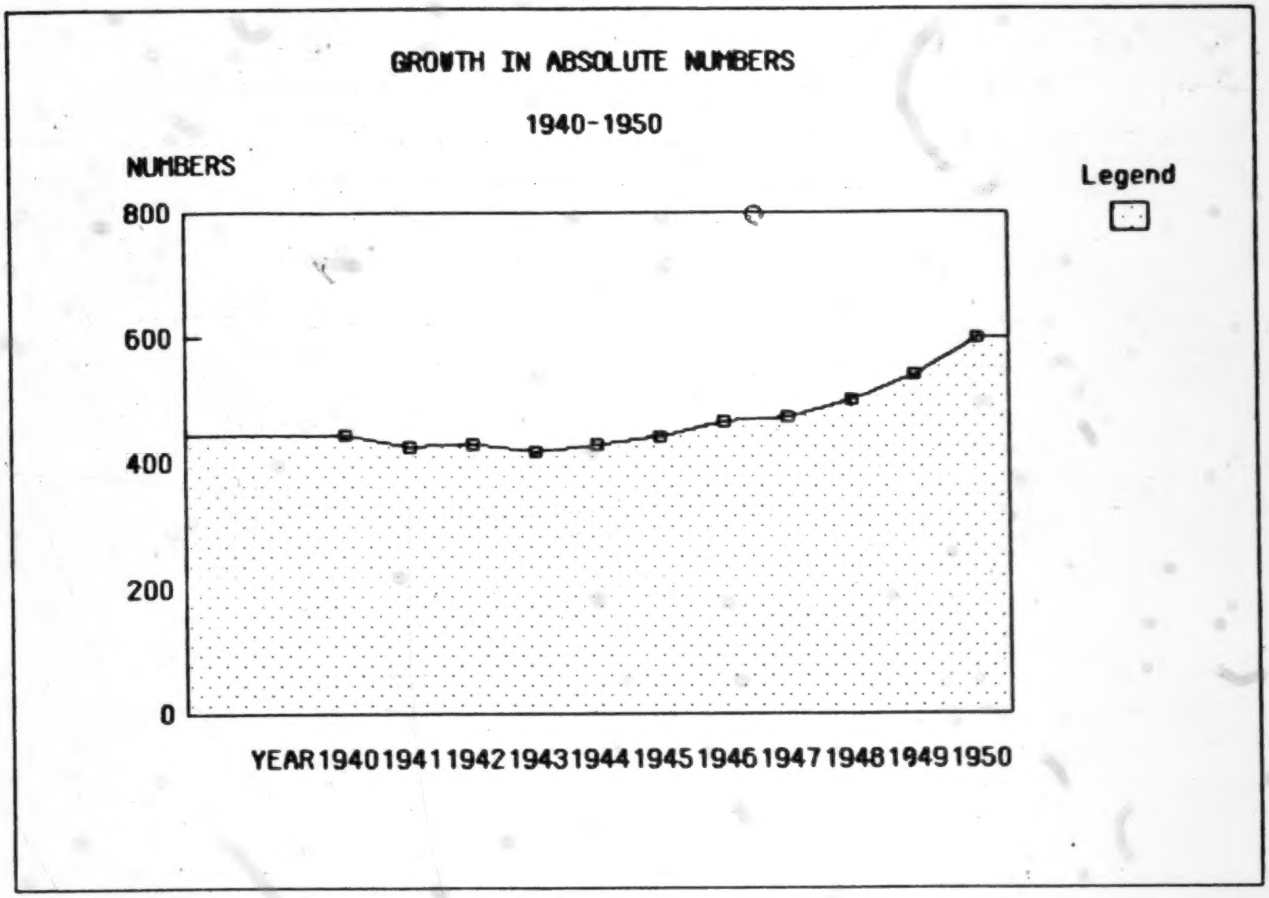
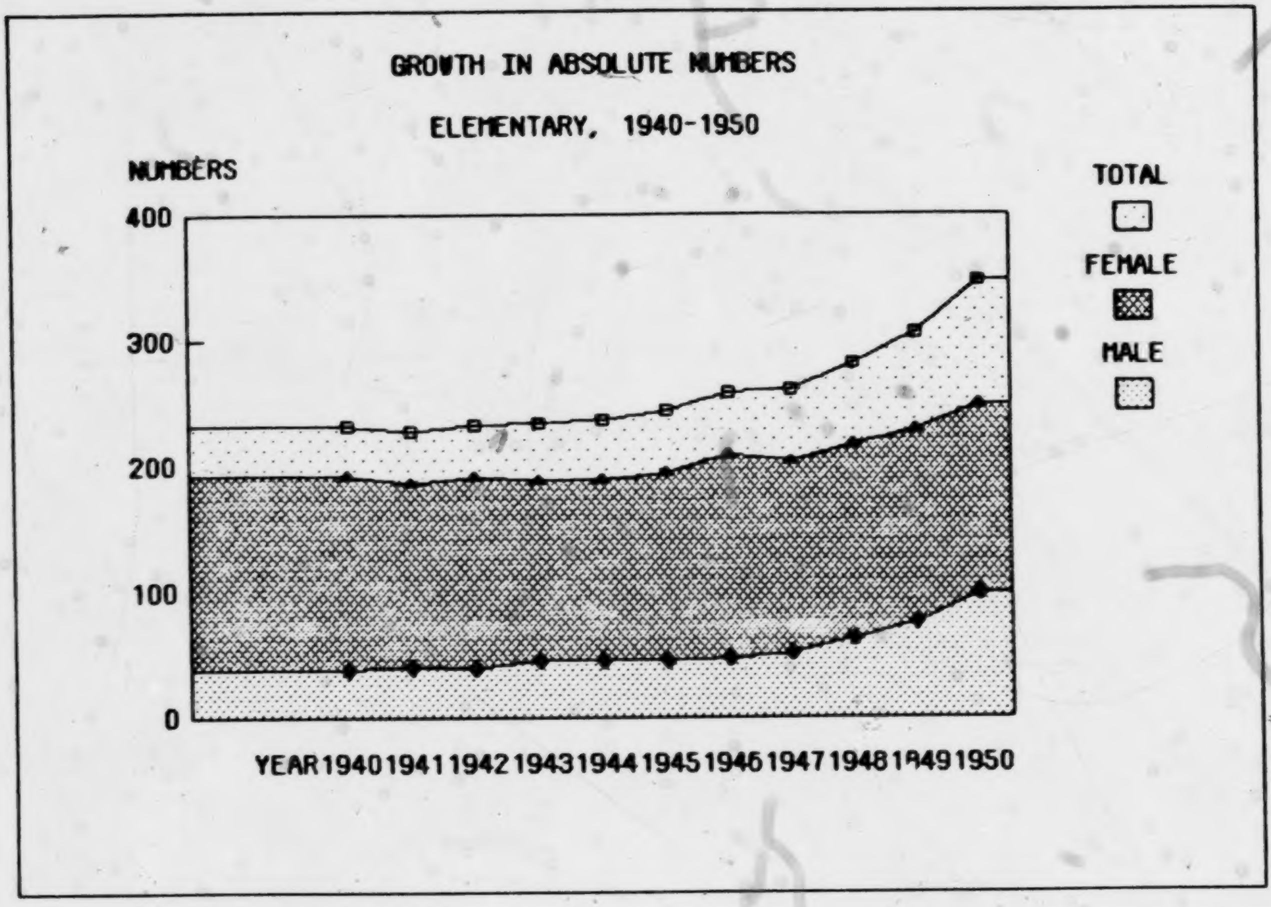
[225] Kostek, *Looking Back*, p. 273.
[226] Ibid.
[227] insufficient data resulted in 0.4% unknown.



YEAR	NUMBER
1940	444
1941	427
1942	431
1943	419
1944	429
1945	443
1946	466
1947	472
1948	500
1049	540
1950	598



GROWTH IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS

ELEMENTARY, 1940-1950

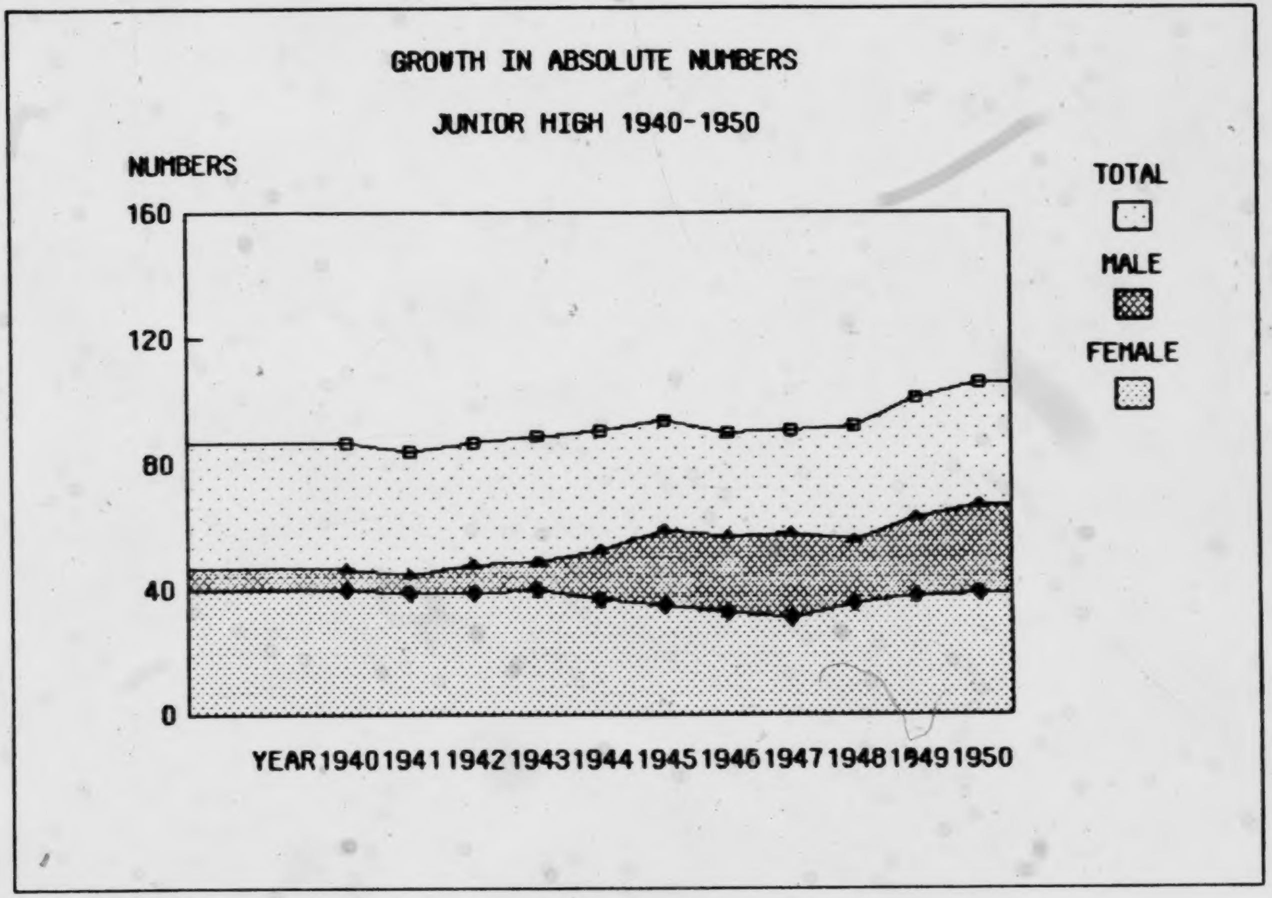
YEAR	NUMBER	FEMALE	MALE
1940	232	192	39
1941	228	186	41
1942	233	191	40
1943	234	188	46
1944	237	189	46
1945	244	194	46
1946	259	209	48
1947	261	203	52
1948	281	217	64
1049	306	229	77
1950	348	249	99

teachers, 19.6% were junior high teachers, 18.8% were high school teachers and 6.2% were special teachers.

The percentage of male elementary teachers hovered between 17% and 19%, with only minor fluctuations, between 1940 and 1946, but from 1947 to 1950 the percentage of male elementary teachers rose by approximately 3% a year, from 19.9% in 1947 to 28.4% in 1950, up from 16.8% in 1940. The percentage of male elementary teachers rose even during the war, from 16.8% in 1940 to 18.9% in 1945, and continued to rise thereafter, although much more rapidly. Women teachers did not increase their percentage in elementary school; even during the war, it never exceeded 1940 levels.

A rapid expansion in elementary school positions took place after the war, when the total number of positions increased by 12.7% between 1940 and 1947 and by 50% between 1940 and 1950, or from 232 in 1940 to 348 in 1950. However, although the percentage of elementary school positions expanded, the percentage of female elementary teachers fell, the result of a differential growth rate for male and female teachers. The growth rate for the last three years of the decade was 7%, 6% and 9% for women elementary teachers, but 12%, 13% and 22% for men teachers.

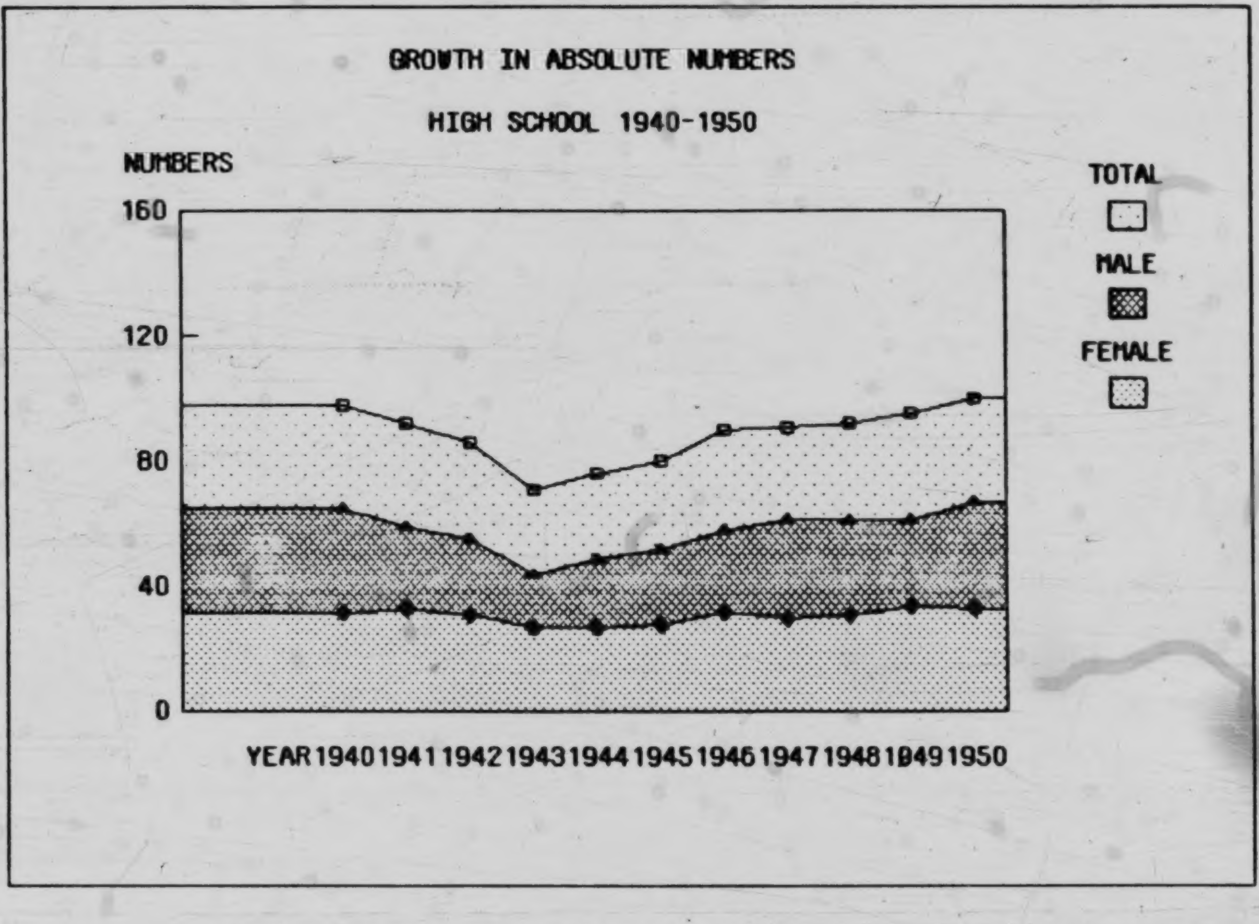
The total number of junior high positions also increased by 22% between 1940 and 1950, from 87 positions in 1940 to 106 in 1950. However, as the percentage of junior high positions expanded, the percentage of female teachers in junior high fell, from 46.0% in 1940 to 36.8% in 1950.



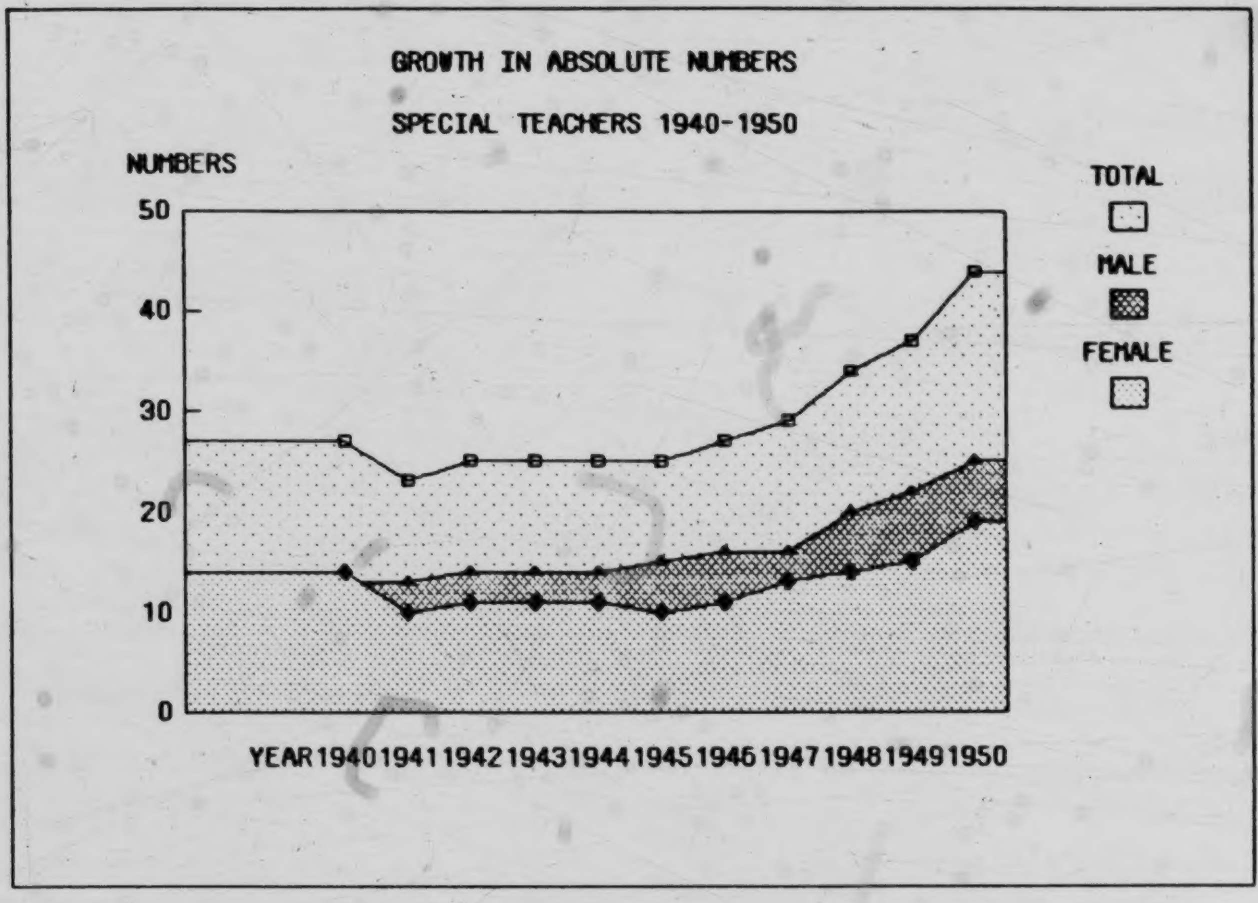
YEAR	NUMBER	MALE	FEMALE
1940	87	47	40
1941	84	45	39
1942	87	48	39
1943	89	49	40
1944	91	53	37
1945	94	59	35
1946	90	57	33
1947	91	58	31
1948	92	56	36
1049	101	63	38
1950	106	67	39

The percentage of women teachers in high school followed the same pattern of an inverse correlation between the percentage of women teachers and the expansion in the number of jobs. Between 1940 and 1943 the percentage of high school positions declined by 27%, from 98 to 71, and the percentage of women high school teachers rose from nearly 33% in 1940 to 38% in 1943. From 1943 to 1950 the number of high school positions climbed back to 1940 levels, from 71 to 100, and the percentage of female teachers declined, back to 33%. In 1950 the same relationship existed as in 1940 between the percentage of high school teachers and the number of jobs.

For elementary, junior high and high school the same inverse correlation held: as the number of positions expanded, the percentage of female teachers declined. In elementary, in 1940, there were 232 positions, 82.8% of which were held by women. In 1950 there were 348 positions, 71.6% of which were held by women. In junior high in 1940, there were 87 positions, 46% which were held by women; in 1950 there were 106 positions, 36.8% which were held by women. In high school in 1940 there were 98 positions, 32.7% of which were held by women; in 1950 there were 100 positions, 33% of which were held by women. In 1940 there were 27 special teaching positions, 51.9% of which were held by women; in 1950 there were 44 special teaching positions, 43.2% of which were held by women.



YEAR	NUMBER	MALE	FEMALE
1940	98	65	32
1941	92	59	33
1942	86	55	31
1943	71	44	27
1944	76	49	27
1945	80	52	28
1946	90	58	32
1947	91	61	30
1948	92	61	31
1049	95	61	34
1950	100	67	33



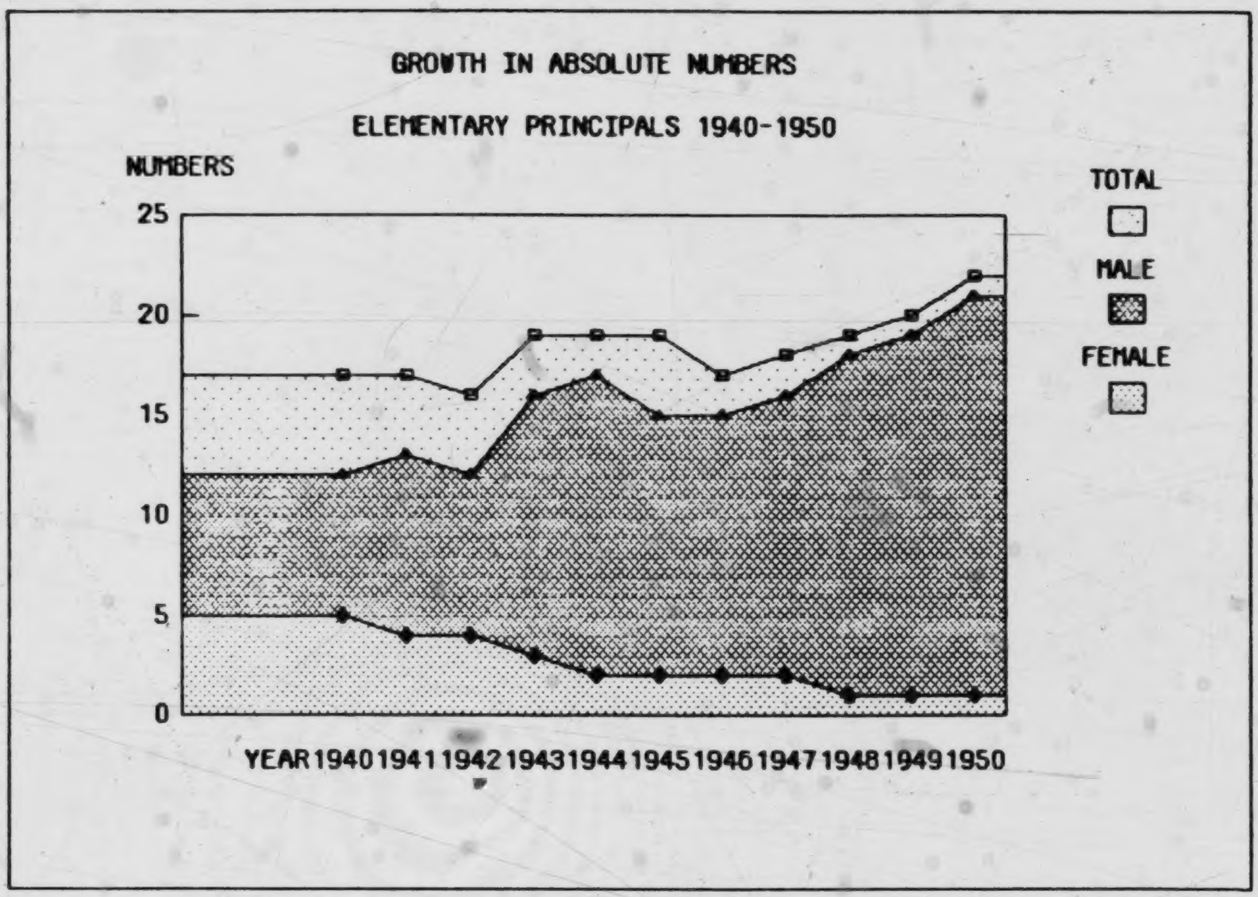
YEAR	NUMBER	MALE	FEMALE
1940	27	13	14
1941	23	13	10
1942	25	14	11
1943	25	14	11
1944	25	14	11
1945	25	15	10
1946	27	16	11
1947	29	16	13
1948	34	20	14
1049	37	22	15
1950	44	25	19

Women did not make any inroads into administration as the percentage of positions expanded, particularly in elementary. In 1940 there were 17 elementary principalships, 5 of which were held by women, or 29% of the total. In 1950 the number of principalships increased by 29%, to 22, but there was only one woman principal, or 4.5% of the total, a dramatic drop. There were no women principals at the junior high or high school levels in 1940. In 1950, although there were two more positions respectively, from 16 to 17 in junior high and from 5 to 6 in high school, all of them continued to be held by men.

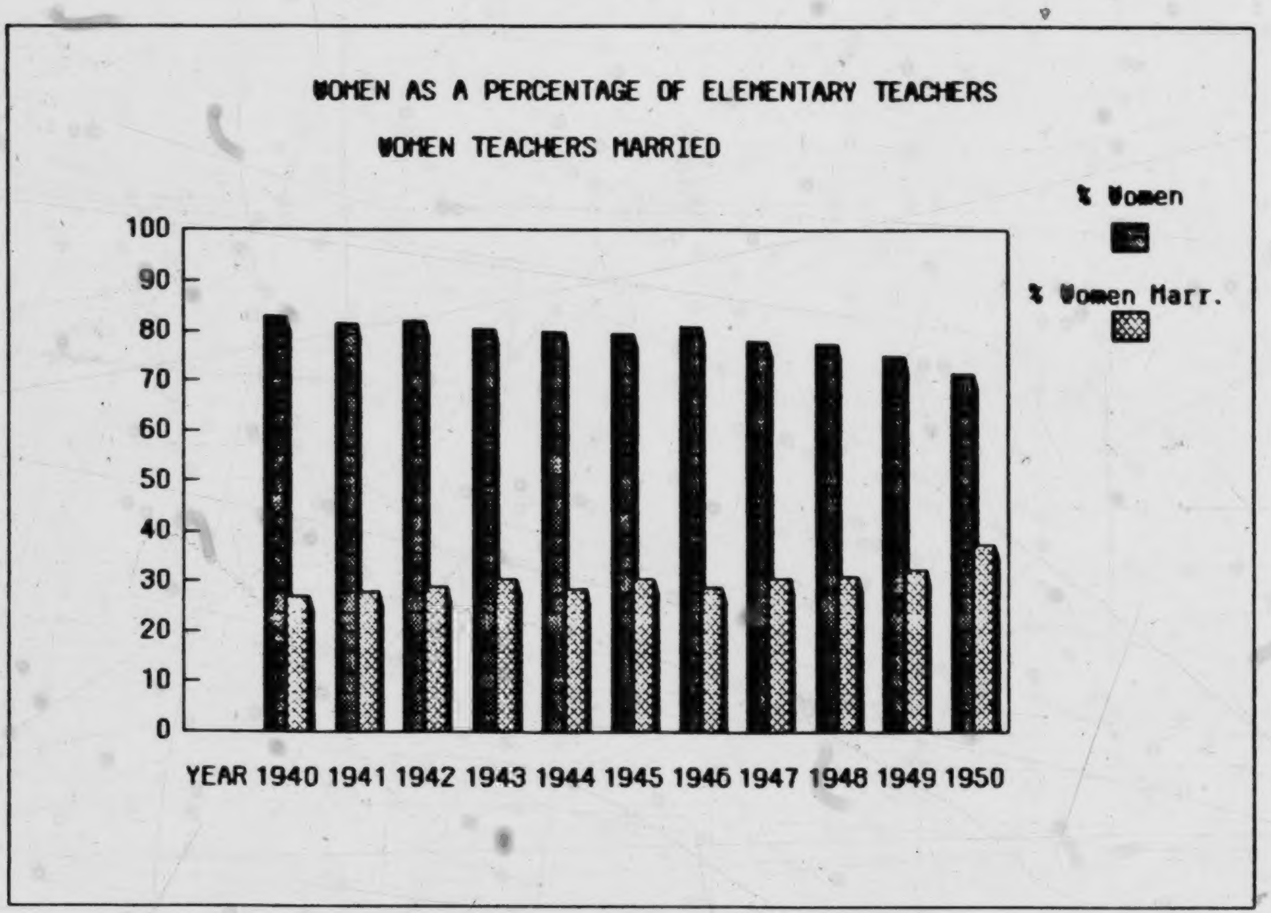
Between 1940 and 1946 the percentage of female elementary teachers fluctuated between 79.5% and 82.8%; the percentage of married female elementary teachers fluctuated between 27.1% and 30.4%. From 1946 to 1950, as the percentage of female elementary teachers dropped, from 80.7% to 71.6%, the percentage of married women rose, from 28.7% in 1946 to 32.8% in 1949 and to 37.3% in 1950, an astonishing gain of 5% in only a year.

At the junior high level the situation was different. Although the percentage of female teachers fell, as in elementary level, from 46% in 1940 to less than 37% in 1950, the percentage of married women did not rise. It fell from 25% in 1940 to 20.8% in 1950, differing from the elementary level.

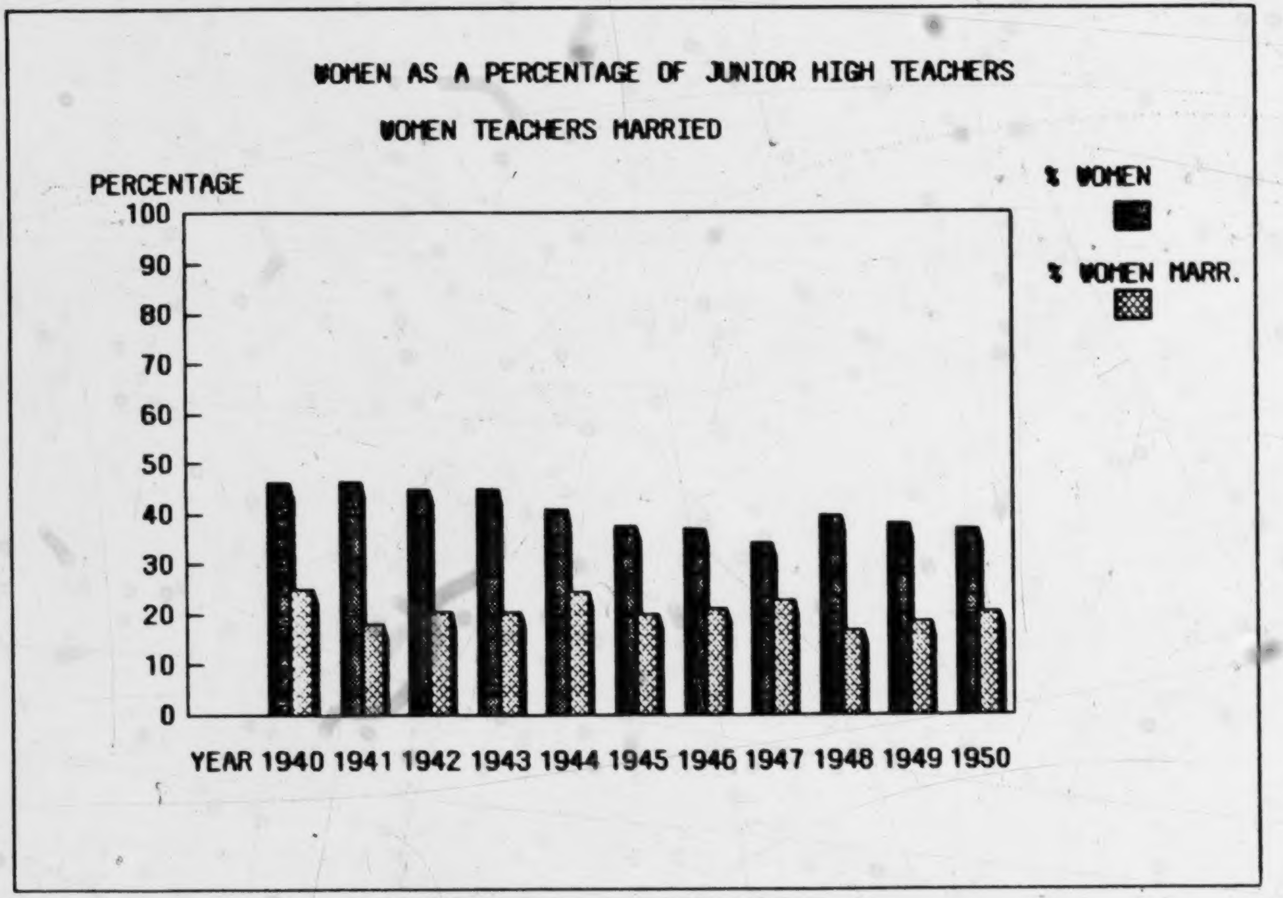
In high school the percentage of married women was much smaller than in either elementary or junior high. During the



YEAR	NUMBER	MALE	FEMALE
1940	17	12	5
1941	17	13	4
1942	16	12	4
1943	19	16	3
1944	19	17	2
1945	19	15	2
1946	17	15	2
1947	18	16	2
1948	19	18	1
1049	20	19	1
1950	22	21	1



	Elementary Women Teachers as a % of Total	Percentage of Women Teachers Married
1940	82.8	27.1
1941	81.6	28.0
1942	82.0	28.8
1943	80.3	30.3
1944	79.7	28.6
1945	79.5	30.4
1946	80.7	28.7
1947	77.8	30.5
1948	77.2	30.9
1949	74.8	32.8
1950	71.6	37.3



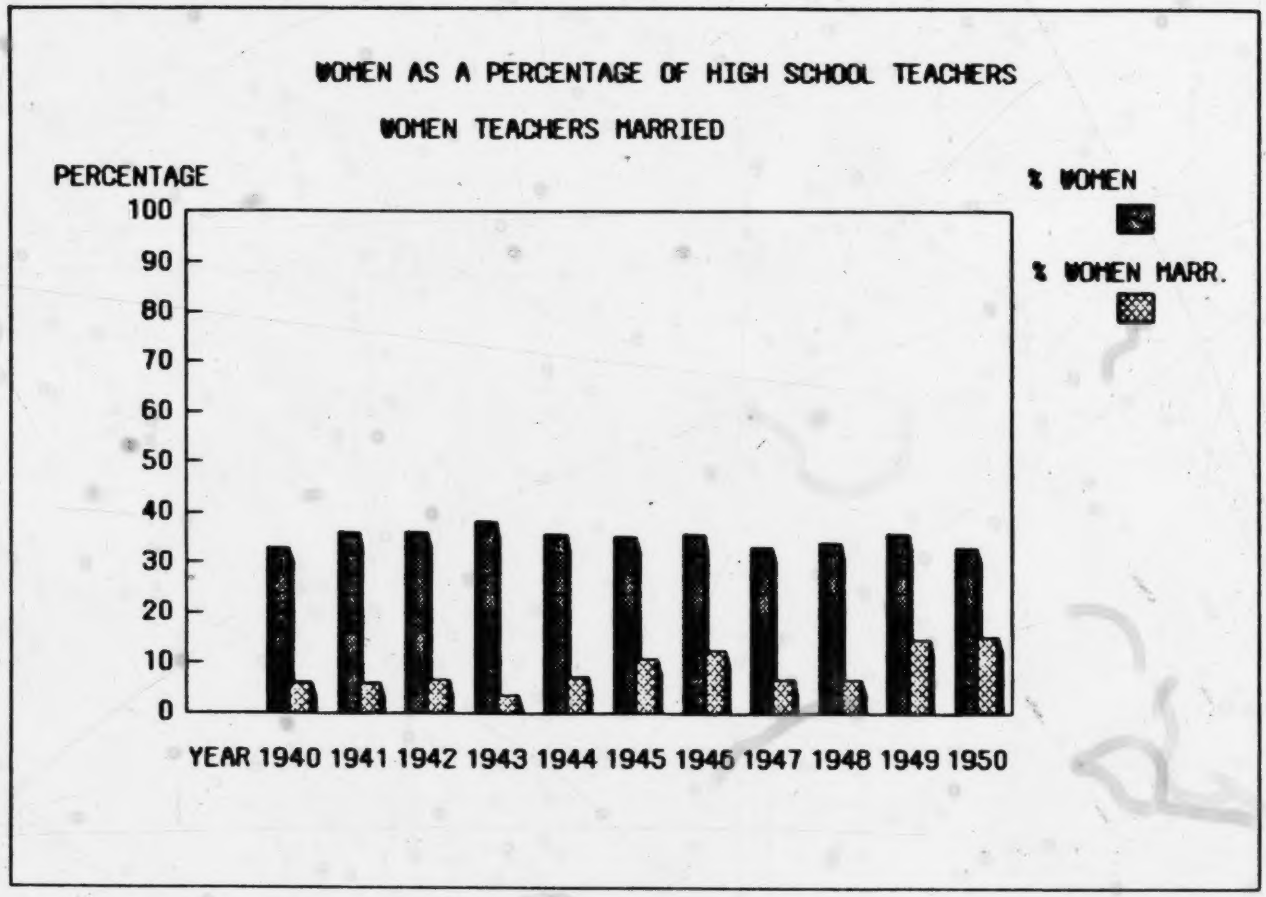
	Junior High Women Teachers as a % of Total	Percentage of Women Teachers Married
1940	46.0	25.0
1941	46.4	17.9
1942	44.8	20.5
1943	44.9	20.5
1944	40.7	24.3
1945	37.2	20.0
1946	36.7	21.2
1947	34.1	22.6
1948	39.1	16.7
1949	37.6	18.4
1950	36.8	20.5

the 1940's the number of married women ranged only between one and five of the total number, which ranged from 27 to 34 women. During the war years the number of married women fluctuated between one and two of the total, although the percentage of women high school teachers rose from 32.7% in 1940 to 38% in 1943--the peak--before falling to near 1940 levels in 1950. However, after the war the number of married women on staff rose, although in both numbers and percentages it remained much lower than in either elementary or junior high.

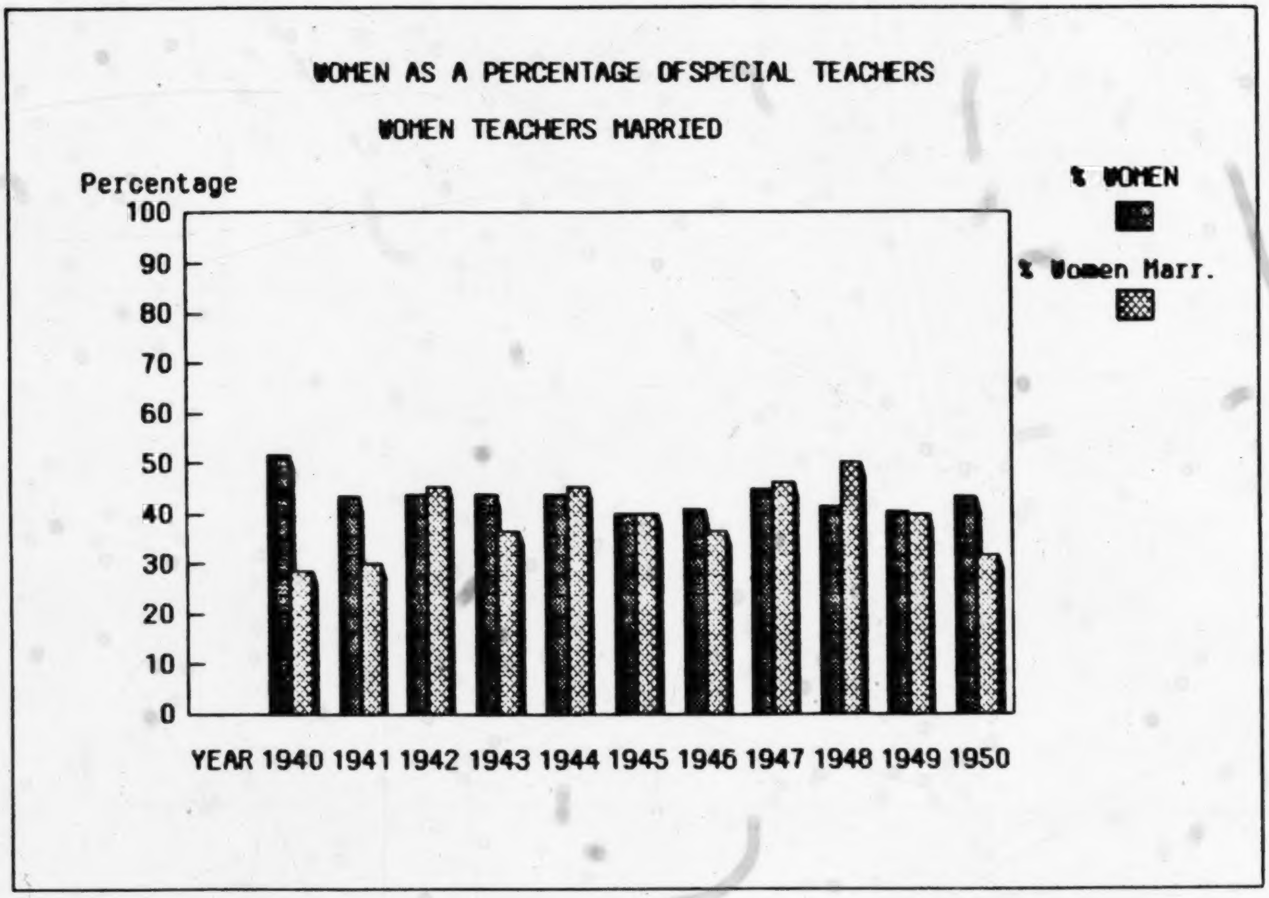
Similar to the elementary level, the percentage of women special teachers declined, from 51.9% in 1940 to 43.2% in 1950. However, unlike the elementary level, and to a lesser extent, high school, the percentage of married women remained relatively stable. In 1940 28.6% of the women special teachers were married; in 1950 31.6% were.

In order to analyse whether education and experience had affected the position attained with the Edmonton Public School System, as the neoclassicists argue, the variables of education and experience among full-time Edmonton Public School Board teachers who taught between 1940 and 1950 were controlled.

Of women and men with less than one year experience prior to joining the Edmonton Public School Board and with a first class certificate: 69.2% of the women taught elementary compared to 6.3% of the men. 7.7% of the women taught junior high compared to 18.8% of the men. 23.1% of



	High School Women Teachers as a % of Total	Percentage of Women Teachers Married
1940	32.7	6.3
1941	35.9	6.1
1942	36.0	6.5
1943	38.0	3.7
1944	35.5	7.4
1945	35.0	10.7
1946	35.6	12.5
1947	33.0	6.7
1948	33.7	6.5
1949	35.8	14.7
1950	33.0	15.2



	Percentage of Women Teachers	Married Women Teachers
1940	51.9	28.6
1941	43.5	30.0
1942	44.0	45.5
1943	44.0	36.4
1944	44.0	45.5
1945	40.0	40.0
1946	40.7	36.4
1947	44.8	46.2
1948	41.2	50.0
1949	40.5	40.0
1950	43.2	31.6

the women taught high school compared to 31.3% of the men. None of the women were special teachers compared to 6.3% of the men. None were principals compared to 37.5% of the men.

The greatest differences between women and men with less than one year prior teaching experience before being hired by the Edmonton Public Board and with a first class certificate existed at the elementary level, where ten times as many women taught as men, and in principalships. There were no women, but over one-third of the men were principals.

This data seem to indicate that although these men and women teachers began teaching with the Edmonton Public School Board with the same level of education and experience, men were either hired on at a different level or they moved upward, whereas women were hired predominantly at the elementary level and stayed there. They were either not hired at a higher level, or they did not move upward to the same degree as men.[228]

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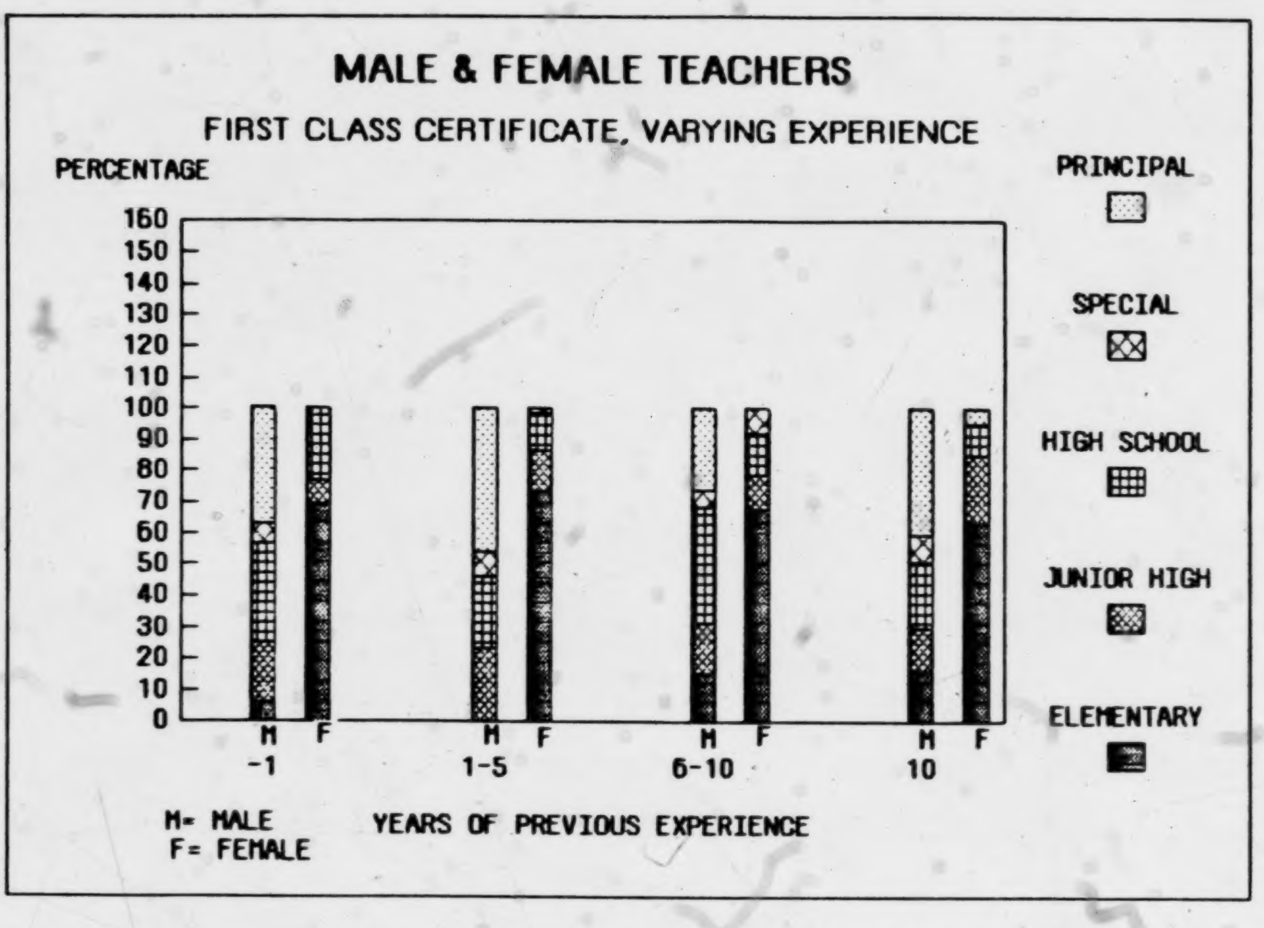
[228] A National Film Board Study done in the 1970's found that "70% of women entered at the lowest levels compared to only 27% of the men". Carol Reich and Helen Lafontaine, *Occupational Segregation and Its Effects: A study of women in the Alberta Public Service*, (Edmonton: Alberta Human Rights Commission, 1979), p. 178. Being hired at a lower level directly inhibits the upward mobility of women. A study of the Alberta Public Service released in 1979 states: "Not only does entry at a higher level immediately improve the position of men, but it may also help to explain why women's success in gaining promotion has not improved their position in the organization to a greater extent. Entering at a lower level guarantees that women will have to move through several more levels before they even reach the point from which men started." Ibid., p. 179.



Women, First-Class Certificate, Experience Varying

	<1	1-5	6-10	10+
Elementary	69.2	73.3	67.7	63.4
Junior High	7.7	13.3	11.3	22.0
High School	23.1	11.7	12.9	9.8
Special	-0-	-0-	8.1	-0
Principal	-0-	-0-	-0-	4.9

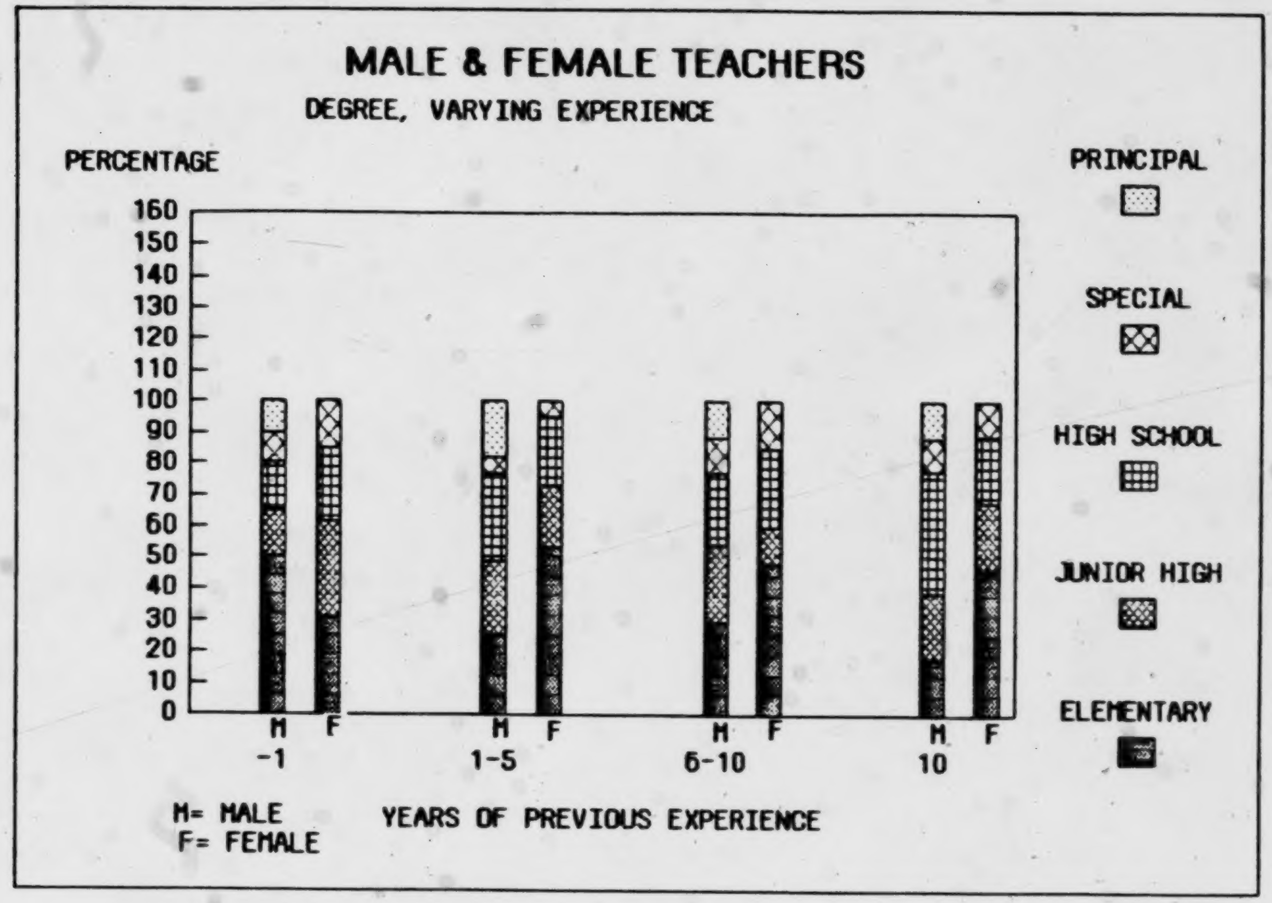
Men, First-Class Certificate, Experience Varying

	<1	1-5	6-10	10+
Elementary	6.3	-0-	15.8	16.2
Junior High	18.8	23.1	15.8	13.5
High School	31.3	23.1	36.8	21.6
Special	6.3	7.7	5.3	8.1
Principal	37.5	46.2	26.3	40.5

In other words, there was an internal labour market, statified by gender. Given equal qualifications at the initial stage of hiring, women were hired at the elementary level, and there they stayed. Men were either hired at different levels, or if they did begin as elementary teachers, they moved out of elementary into junior high, high school special or administrators, with the largest percentage of men becoming either high school teachers (31.3%) or principals (37.5%). That total--68.8% nearly equals the percentage of women elementary teachers who began teaching with the Edmonton Public School Board with the same qualifications--69.2%. A nearly perfect inverse relationship exists.

Of women and men with less than one year experience before joining the Edmonton Public School Board and with a degree, 30.8% of the women taught elementary compared to 50.0% of the men. 30.8% of the women taught junior high compared to 15.0% of the men. 23.1% of the women taught high school compared to 15.0% of the men. 15.4% of the women were special teachers compared to 10.0% of the men. None of the women were principals compared to 10.0% of the men.

For women and men with less than one year previous teaching experience before being hired by the Edmonton Public School Board and with a degree, this higher level of education conferred a much greater equality of outcome. Indeed a degree worked in women's favor at every level except in the percentage of principalships attained. Women



Women, Degree, Experience Varying

	<1	1-5	6-10	10+
Elementary	30.8	53.7	47.5	46.4
Junior High	30.8	19.5	12.5	21.4
High School	23.1	22.0	25.0	21.4
Special	15.4	4.9	15.0	10.7
Principal	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0

Men, Degree, Experience Varying

	<1	1-5	6-10	10+
Elementary	50.0	25.6	29.5	17.9
Junior High	15.0	23.1	25.0	20.9
High School	15.0	28.2	22.7	28.8
Special	10.0	5.1	11.4	10.4
Principal	10.0	17.9	11.4	11.9

were much less concentrated at the elementary level; that is they were hired at higher levels or they experienced a much greater degree of upward mobility, particularly into junior high and as special teachers. However, a degree still did not promise the eventual attainment of a principalship.

Of women and men who had a first class certificate and who had between one and five years experience before being hired by the Edmonton Public School Board 73.3% of the women taught elementary compared to none of the men, 13.3% of the women taught junior high compared to 23.1% of the men, 11.7% of the women taught high school compared to 23.1% of the men, 1.7% of the women were specials teachers compared to 7.7% of the men, and none of the women were principals compared to 46.2% of the men.

Women teachers with greater experience were even more concentrated at the elementary level, and significantly underrepresented in high school, However, they taught junior high more frequently than those with less than one year of previous experience. Men were absent entirely from elementary school, slightly more concentrated in junior high, and overrepresented as principals. For women, greater experience led to a slightly greater concentration in elementary, a near doubling in junior high, but a corresponding decrease in high school. There were no women principals. For men, greater experience meant the complete movement out of elementary and a corresponding increase in principalships. The inverse relationship between men and women teachers with the same education and the same level of experience continued to hold. Women were concentrated on the bottom, nearly three-quarters of whom taught elementary; roughly the same proportion of men were high school teachers or in higher positions.

For women and men with one to five years of experience and a degree, 53.7% of the women taught elementary compared to 25.6% of the men. 19.5% of the women taught junior high compared to 23.1% of the men. 22.0% of the women taught high school compared to 28.2% of the men. 4.9% of the women were special teachers compared to 5.1% of the men. None of the women were principals compared to 17.9% of the men.

At every level, with the sole exception of elementary, men were over-represented in terms of percentages. Only 25.6% of the men taught elementary compared to 53.7% of the women. 17.9% of the men were principals but none of the women were. Holding the academic level of a degree constant, men benefitted from greater experience. They moved significantly out of elementary, into junior high, and particularly high school and administration. For women, greater experience along with the possession of a degree did not translate into internal mobility. Contrary to the logical prediction, women teachers with one to five years prior experience were even more concentrated at the elementary level than those with less than one. Their representation in junior high and as special teachers also declined significantly. Greater experience for women also led to less equality between men and women. With less than one year prior experience before being hired by the Edmonton Public School Board women teachers were much more evenly distributed compared to men than those with one to five years experience.

For women and men with a first class certificate and six to ten years experience before being hired by the Edmonton Public School Board, 67.7% of the women taught elementary compared to 15.8% of the men., 11.3% of the women taught junior high compared to 15.8% of the men. 12.9% of the women taught high school compared to 36.8% of the men. 8.1% of the women were special teachers compared to 5.3% of the men. None of the women were principals compared to 26.3% of the men.

Men with a first class certificate and six to ten years experience prior to being hired by the Edmonton Public School Board were more often high school and special teachers or principals. For women the situation was reversed: 79.0% taught junior high or below, with the majority teaching elementary.

For women and men who had a degree and six to ten years experience before being hired by the Edmonton Public School Board, 47.5% of women taught elementary compared to 29.5% of men. 12.5% of women taught junior high compared to 25.0% of men. 25.0% of women taught high school compared to 22.7% of men. 15.0% of women were special teachers compared to 11.4% of men. None of the women were principals compared to 11.4%

of the men.

Nearly one and a half times as many women as men taught elementary. Twice as many men as women taught junior high school. But the percentage of high school and special teachers was roughly equal. This trend towards equalization did not continue: 11.4% of the men were principals compared to none of the women.

Of women and men who had a first class certificate and over ten years previous experience prior to being hired by the Edmonton Public School Board, 63.4% of women taught elementary compared to 16.2% of men. 22.0% of women taught junior high compared to 13.5% of men. 9.8% of women taught high school compared to 21.6% of men. None of the women were special teachers compared to 8.1% of men. 4.9% of women were principals compared to 40.5% of men.

A nearly inverse relationship exists for this group: 63.4% of women teachers with a first class certificate and with over ten years experience prior to being hired taught in elementary school. 68.1% of men were either principals or high school teachers.

For women and men with a degree and over ten years previous experience prior to being hired by the Edmonton Public School Board, 46.4% of women taught elementary compared to 17.9% of men. 21.4% of women taught junior high compared to 20.9% of men. 21.4% of women taught high school compared to 38.8% of men. 10.7% of women were special teachers compared to 10.4% of men. None of the women were principals compared to 11.9% of men.

Even with a degree and over ten years previous experience a near majority of women teachers still taught in elementary schools. In contrast, men with a degree and over ten years previous experience were almost as concentrated at the high school level as women were at the elementary level. 46.4% of women taught in elementary school compared to 38.8% of men in high schools. None of the women were principals compared to 11.9% of the men.

Holding a degree and previous experience constant, the position of men and women teachers was nearly always a virtual mirror image. Women were concentrated as elementary teachers, men as high school teachers, as special teachers, or as principals.

For men and women holding first class certificates, an inverse relationship exists at every level of experience. Women taught predominantly at the elementary level and men taught at the high school or special areas or as principals.

The possession of a degree does make some difference. For teachers with a first class certificate, the concentration of women teachers in elementary schools and of men at the high school level or above is less pronounced, but an inverse relationship still exists. With the exception of women with no previous experience, most women teachers with a degree and at all levels of experience teach in elementary schools, something that is true only for men with no previous experience before being hired by the Edmonton

Public School Board. However, at every other level of experience, the percentage of women elementary teachers nearly reflected the percentage of men as high school teachers or above. Thus, although the possession of a degree did make some difference, holding education and experience constant, the majority or a near majority of women taught at the elementary level, whereas a majority or near majority of men with the same level of education and experience either taught high school, or were special teachers or principals. From the data, gender is the key determinant of position held, not education or experience.

If the education variable is controlled to test the effect of experience on the level attained by women teachers, for women teachers with a second class certificate there is almost no movement out of elementary teaching despite increased experience. The situation actually worsens with increasing experience. Women with more than ten years of experience before being hired on by the Edmonton Public School Board have the highest percentage of elementary teachers, nearly 97%.

For women with a first class certificate, increasing years of experience are more beneficial than for women with a second class certificate, but only marginally. Women with a first class certificate are not so heavily concentrated in elementary as women with a second class certificate. But the majority still teach at the elementary level, and this percentage shifts by only five percent. For those with less than one year experience to those with over ten years experience, the difference in percentages is from 69% to 63%. However, higher academic achievement as indicated by more years of experience does result in a higher concentration of women teachers in junior high. Only 7.7% of women with less than one year of prior experience teach junior high, but 22% of women with over ten years of experience do. One anomaly surfaces: 23% of women with less than one year previous experience teach high school.

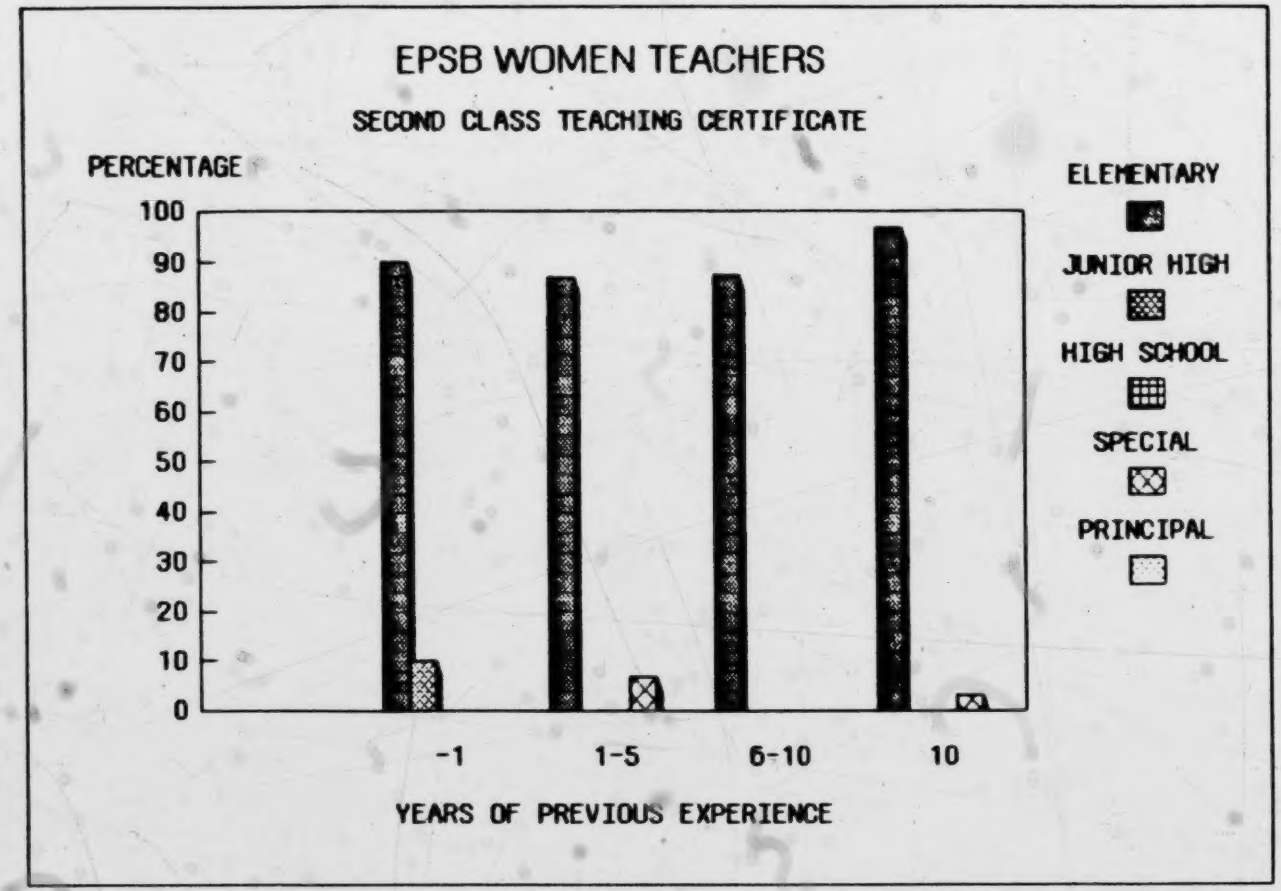
For women with a degree, oddly enough, increasing years of previous experience mean a greater concentration at the elementary level. Women with a degree and less than one year previous experience fare the best, with a nearly even split between elementary (30.8%) junior high (30.8%) and high school (23.1%) Women with more than one year of prior experience and a degree are more heavily concentrated as elementary school teachers, notwithstanding changes in the number of years of experience. Increasing experience after less than one year makes very little difference to women teachers with a degree; their positions remain quite stable.

For men with a first class certificate and additional years of previous experience of up to five years before being hired by the Edmonton Public School Board generally meant a movement out of elementary schools and into principalships. For men with six to ten years of previous experience, their position was puzzling; they had the highest representation in elementary and the highest in high school, but the lowest in administration. The position of men with over ten years of experience again followed the pattern established by men with less than six years experience: the majority of male teachers were either at the high school, special or administrative level. Those male teachers with over ten years previous experience had also attained the highest percentage of principalships of any of the groups.

For male teachers with degrees, greater experience led to progressively less placement at the elementary level, from 50% with less than one year prior experience to 17.9% with more than ten. However, the progression into other levels is not as steady as with elementary. There are fewer men teaching in high school with six to ten years previous experience than with less than six or over ten years previous experience. There are also more principals with one to five years previous experience than at any other level of experience.

Of interest is that for male teachers, investment in more education does not translate into principalships. Investment in a first class certificate and experience does. At every level of experience more men with a first class certificate attained principalships than did men with degrees.

Holding education constant, greater experience for men meant greater opportunities. Generally, the more experience they had, the more represented they were at higher levels.



Women, Second-Class Certificate, Experience Varying

	<1	1-5	6-10	10+
Elementary	90.0	86.7	87.5	96.8
Junior High	10.0	-0-	-0-	-0
High School	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0
Special	-0-	6.7	-0-	3.2
Principal	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0

However for women, greater experience did not make much of a difference, which is consistent with findings of other studies.[229] Women with a second class certificate remained overwhelmingly concentrated at the elementary level. More experience actually led to increasing concentration at that level. For women with a first class certificate there was a minor movement out of elementary and into junior high as experience increased, but there was also a drop in the percentage of women high school teachers. For women with a degree, greater experience, after the anomaly of those with less than one year of prior experience is taken into account, simply means stability--or stagnation.

For women, more education, not more experience, as was the case for men, translated directly into a better position within the teaching force. For men, increasing experience rather than more education is rewarded. For women increasing experience seems to make little difference to their position, but more education does make some difference. However, no matter what level of education and experience women have attained, they are still concentrated in elementary and are virtually absent in administration. Increasing experience is the key to higher levels for men. Increasing education is the key for women, although it still does not advance women into administration. However, because experience is not rewarded for women, they have very few possibilities for advancement without further retraining.

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[229] Ralph E. Smith, ed., *The Subtle Revolution: Women at Work*, (Washington: Urban Institute, 1979), pp. 36-38.

The data suggest that gender rather than education and experience is the key to any analysis of the position women hold.

V. CONCLUSION

The Second World War and its aftermath did not engender greater opportunity for Canadian working women. At the end of the decade more women worked, and many more working women were married, but women continued to work in low power, low paid, and low status jobs. Rosie the Riveter was an ephemeral image. The highly paid jobs that a few women had held during the war evaporated under the exigencies of peacetime.

In Alberta, the same trends noticeable in the larger Canadian labour market were apparent. The labour force participation rate in Alberta was the highest in Canada between 1941 and 1951,[230] and the labour force participation rate rose more dramatically for women than for men in Alberta during that time, despite fluctuations in the birth and marriage rates.[231] However, the percentage of professional women, composed of nearly all teachers and nurses, declined between 1941 and 1946 in Edmonton,[232]

During this decade the percentage of women teachers and administrators with the Edmonton Public School Board stagnated or declined at every level, and particularly in elementary school, a traditionally female area in teaching. However, the percentage of women teachers who were married rose dramatically at the end of the decade, reflecting the larger change in the composition of the female labour force as a whole.

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[230] Warren E. Kalbach and Wayne McVey, *The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), p. 222.

[231] Ibid., p. 231.

[232] No comparable statistics available for 1951 for Edmonton.

A number of reasons can be advanced to explain both the decline in the proportion of women teachers and administrators, and the change in the marital status of the woman teacher. In 1946, the positional pay scale was abolished in favor of a single salary schedule. Lower salaries in elementary school had prevented men from applying for elementary positions with the Edmonton Public School Board. The single salary schedule meant that men competed with women for positions on elementary staffs. As Juanita Kreps has pointed out, when men compete with women, women's job prospects are poor, particularly given the recognized effect of equal pay laws which lead not to greater opportunities for women, but fewer jobs. Morley Gundarson has also observed that equal pay laws have been used to protect men from female competition; whether it is to keep women out completely, or to control women's access, the effect is negative.[233] Because of the abolition of the positional pay scale in 1946, men competed with women for jobs--and won. Not only were men with the same education and experience generally hired or promoted to higher levels more quickly, but with the abolition of the positional pay scale, more men were being hired. Women had lost their one advantage, cheapness, and their percentage in teaching, particularly in elementary schools, dropped accordingly.

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[233] Gundarson points out that the "more astute trade unionists" recognized that the advocacy of equal pay would serve two purposes: they would appear to be championing women's rights, while actually acting to preserve male jobs. Morley Gunderson, *Labour Market Economics: Theory, Evidence and Policy in Canada*, (Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson, 1980), p. 354.

Women's share of elementary principalships also dropped dramatically during this decade, from nearly one third to less than one tenth. All of the new principalships were filled by men. There were five women elementary school principals in 1940, all principals of two room schools. As these schools were consolidated, these women lost their principalships and were not reappointed to others. In 1950 there was only one female principal left. As Alison Prentice among others has pointed out, increasing bureaucratization leads to fewer positions for female administrators, and the Edmonton Public School Board was no exception. As the system became increasingly graded, women, who had been utilized as principals of very small schools, were not utilized as principals of larger units.

After the Second World War, a greater proportion of the labour force acquired a post-secondary education. In conjunction with this, a tight professional job market existed for the last years of the decade. Thus an oversupply of educated people existed at the same time that jobs in the professions were scarce. One of the few exceptions was elementary education. In an otherwise tight professional job market, that opportunity, combined with educators' oft-repeated desire to hire men as teachers and as administrators in order to increase the prestige of the profession, resulted in more men in elementary school teaching.

The rapidly rising percentage of married women teachers after the Second World War can be explained by looking at continent-wide trends. Between 1940 and 1950 the dramatic change was not in the female labour force participation rate, but in the composition of the female labour force, as it shifted from single women workers to married women workers. Teaching was no exception, and the greater percentage of married women teachers reflected the changing composition of the female labour force.

Elementary jobs expanded rapidly in the last few years of the decade. This occurred at the same time as the pool of available women workers contained more married women than previously, a reflection of lower age at marriage and a larger percentage of women marrying. Because the demand for elementary teachers could not be satisfied only with recourse to men, married women were also hired.

As Valerie Oppenheimer has pointed out, not attitudinal change but economic need has led to the changing composition of the female labour force. The Married Women Teachers' Case of 1943 concerning the Edmonton Public School Board aptly illustrated this point. Although after 1943 that the Edmonton Public School Board could not force a woman teacher to resign upon marriage, thus indicating formal acceptance of a married woman's right to work, the case had little effect on the percentage of married women teachers. Only the exigencies of the employment situation, not attitudinal change, led to the dramatic increase in the percentage of married women teachers.[234]

The aftermath of the Second World War did not provide additional opportunities for women in all areas of the labour market. It only provided a much larger number of jobs which had already been defined as female. However, even in female dominated jobs there were exceptions. The only area in the professions in which women were at all well-represented was nursing and elementary school teaching. The abolition of the positional pay scale, a tight professional market, and increasing opportunities in administration meant that men competed directly with women for the first time in elementary education--and were hired. The percentage of women in teaching continued its decline as a combined demand for men as teachers and a supply of men willing to teach finally met.

A. DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

An area which would be interesting to examine in detail would be the interaction of class and gender in the teaching profession, something which was not possible in this thesis given the available data. Census data, used carefully, could indicate class, although there are problems in the use of housing data for example to determine class for women. An area of equal interest would be the examination of professionalization. How was professionalization used by women teachers to achieve equal treatment within the profession? Was the process of professionalization used by men within teaching to exclude women or limit their access to certain jobs, as Heidi Hartmann has argued? Is the examination of the different use of professionalization by male and female teachers also a way of examining the interaction of class and gender? These are additional areas of research which could throw light on the gender division of labour within the school system and the change in the gender composition of labour.

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[234] Oppenheimer makes the same point in her study of the increasing percentage of women teachers: it is the "acute teacher shortage, not attitudinal change." Oppenheimer, *The Female Labour Force*, p. 131.

APPENDIX A: WOMEN WAGE EARNERS IN EDMONTON, 1931-1961

OCCUPATION	1931[235]	1936[236]	1941[237]	1946[238]	1951[239]	1961[240]
Teachers	479	523	538	472	756	2186
Nurses	133	219	378	378	750	1605
Stenos,Typists	1370	1333	1757	2590[241]	3654	6449
Salesclerks	597	675	896[242]	1166	1937	3393
Domestic Servants	1319	1523	1517	687[243]	1245[244]	2159[245]
Textile Producers	243	266	389	451	750	1243[246]
Waitresses	262	273	470	674	899	1490
Telephone Operators	81	64	86	150	301	771
Nursing Assistant/Aid	27[247]	25	51	158	357	1209
Total[248]	6087	6477	8786	11,278	18,754	39,058

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[235] Table 36,"Wage Earners, 10+", Volume V, Population, 1931 Census of Canada, pp.562-564.

[236] Table 40,"Wage Earners, 14+", Volume II, Occupations, Earnings, Households, 1936 Census of the Prairie Provinces, pp.1136.

[237] Table 7, "Wage Earners, 14+", Volume VI, Earnings and Employment, 1941 Census of Canada, p.208.

[238] Table 28, "Wage Earners, 14+", Volume II, Occupations, Earnings, Employment, 1946 Census of the Prairie Provinces, p.832.

[239] Table 23, "Wage Earners, 14+", Volume V, Labour Force, 1951 Census of Canada

[240] Table 25, "Wage Earners, 15+", Series 3, Labour Force: Earnings and Hours of Employment of Wage Earners by Occupations, Metropolitan Areas, Bulletin 3.3-8

[241] now divided into Stenos, Clerk Typists and Typists

[242] Change in classification to "window decorators and dressers"

[243] Change in classification to "household workers"

[244] Change in classification to "hotel, cafe, and private household workers"

[245] Change in classification to "maids and related service workers

[246] Change in classification to "tailors, furriers, upholsterers and related workers"

[247] Listed under "practical nurses"

[248] Indicates total number of Women Wage Earners

Appendix B: The Married Women Teachers' Case, Edmonton, 1943

Only in 1943 did women teachers with the Edmonton Public School District win the right to be recognized as teachers first, with marital status no longer a determinant of their continued employment. In contravention to the Provincial School Act, from 1916 onward EPSB followed the policy that upon marriage a woman must resign her position. Married women teachers could only reapply as substitute teachers; their positions were renewed annually and they received no increments.

When John Barnett wrote to the Deputy Minister of Education in May, 1943, stating that he had received numerous queries regarding the legal status of women teachers who wished to retain their teaching position upon marriage rather than to customarily resign, and that he wished an opinion on this,[249] he was writing within the context of a severe teacher shortage. The availability of better paying jobs because of the war had proved so enticing to teachers that the federal government finally recognized the seriousness of the situation and on June 17, 1943 passed an Order-in-Council which prohibited teachers from leaving their posts unless they wished to enlist in the Armed Forces.[250] However, the order did little to alleviate the shortage. In November 1943, there were 125 classrooms without teachers, 40 to 50 schools wilth unsatisfactory arrangements, and 330 holders of War Emergency Certificates who had attended normal school for six weeks during the fall term and then had been sent out to teach.[251] Even the big city boards, which traditionally paid much more than the rural areas, were having problems recruiting teachers. For the first time, the Edmonton Public School Board was forced to hire teachers above the schedule in the spring of 1943.[252] The effects of years of low wages, and the ready availability of war work or enlistment in the army had conspired to produce a situation where the School Boards had "gone through the province with a fine tooth comb getting back to teaching hundreds who had left the profession",[253] many of whom were married women.[254]

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[249] Letter from John Barnett to Dr. F.G. McNally, Deputy Minister of Education, May 29, 1943, Department of Education File 79.140 (Provincial Archives)

[250] ATA Magazine, October-November 1943, p. 9.

Within this context the Department of Education replied with an opinion formulated for them by the Attorney General's Department in 1940. Although Section 246 of the School Act stated that "women shall be upon absolute equality with and have the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same penalties and disabilities as men", the Attorney General's Department stated that "there might be a case perhaps where the marriage of a teacher would in the opinion of the Board of Reference make the retention of the teacher detrimental to the proper and efficient conduct of the school".[255] However, in July, 1943 the rights of women teachers to equal treatment were clarified by the findings of Judge A. MacDonald of the Board of Reference who made it quite clear that "Section 246 of the School Act really did mean what it was intended to mean". He was referring to a case which was decided in the favour of the right of a woman teacher to retire at sixty-five, rather than at sixty, which had been customary for women, but not for men.[256]

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[251] Letter from Chief Inspector of Schools to John Barnett, November 24, 1943, Department of Education File 79.140.
[252] Minutes of the ATA Executive, April 29, 1943, p. 1006.
[253] ATA Magazine, January 1944, p. 7.
[254] John Chalmers, *Schools of the Foothills Province*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967).

The Alberta Teachers' Association then advised three women teachers on the staff of the Edmonton Public School Board "not to accede to the request of officials of the school board to resign, the officials acting in conformity with an established policy of the board to dispose of women teachers in being married."[257] The Board's reaction to the three married women teachers who informed the Board that they "intended to resume their duties on the opening day of school"[258] was acquiescence. However, this acquiescence, reached after the legality of the teachers' position was pointed out to them, was tempered by their desire to therefore amend Section 246 of the School Act. After expressing their belief that married women belonged in the home and that a two income household was unfair, the Board passed a resolution which stated in part:

> Whereas this Board is of the opinion that it is in

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[255] Interview, Attorney General's Department, November 27, 1979.

[256] ATA Magazine, May 1944, p. 13.

[257] Ibid.

[258] Edmonton Public School Board Minutes, October 5, 1943.

> the best interests of family life and the community in general that a married woman teacher should not continue to hold a permanent appointment, terminable only at her own pleasure,
>
> THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That the Minister of Education be requested to so amend the Alberta School Act to provide that any School Board may terminate, upon marriage, the contract of any woman teacher who marries while holding a continuous contract with the Board.[259]

At the annual meeting of the Alberta School Trustees Association in November, 1943, the Edmonton Public School Board resolution was considered and carried. A copy of the resolution and the proposed amendment to the School Act which stated

> Notwithstanding any of the provisions of this Act a Board may terminate the contract of employment or the engagement of any married women as a teacher by giving such married women thirty days notice in writing of its intention to do so

was forwarded to the government.[260] The government did not act on the ASTA's request. It would have been foolish to allow the termination of a married woman's contract, particularly in the face of both a severe teacher shortage and federal policy which encouraged even married women with children to work.

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[259] Edmonton Public School Board Minutes, October 19, 1943.

[260] Letter from Alberta School Trustees Association to Department of Education, January 6, 1944, Department of Education file 79.140.

Although the Edmonton Public School Board policy, albeit illegal, had been in effect since 1916, this was the first challenge to the policy. Mrs. Velva Thompson, one of the three women complainants, maintained that it was the support of Jo MacNeill, her principal, one of the very few women principals in the system, and Mina Johnston, the only woman member of the ATA Executive in 1942 and 1943, which convinced her to participate in this test case. Initially, she stated, she had no intention of stirring up any trouble; she was hoping that the School Board would leave her alone and she would be able to continue to teach at her school. However, the badgering of Ross Sheperd, the superintendent, who threatened to move her anywhere in the city if she did not resign, and the support of MacNeill and Johnston, prompted her to allow her name to stand. And, as Thompson relates it, Mina Johnston was determined to use this case to improve the position of women within the organization.[261] If marriage was not to be a consideration in the employment, continued or otherwise, for male teachers, it should not be considered for women teachers either.[262]

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[261] Telephone conversation, Mrs. Velva Thompson, November 22, 1979.

[262] The following year Mina Johnston was again involved in a situation which she perceived as unfair to women teachers. At the Annual General meeting in April, 1944 she called a separate meeting to discuss the proposed pension benefits, and set up an organization to deal with pension benefits, although nothing seems to have ensued. Annual General Meeting, April 1944.

The attitude of the Alberta Teachers' Association was more ambivalent than Mina Johnston's. To H.C. Clark, the ATA representative to the EPSB meetings, it was very clear that the question was not the right of married women to work, but a question of tenure--the right of a married woman teacher who married while under contract to continue to teach. T.D. Baker, a fellow ATA representative, elaborated upon that, stating that the Teachers' Council agreed that only single women be initially employed. However, if a woman married while under contract, then it became a case for tenure.[263]

John Barnett's concern, like Clark and Baker's, was the lawful and economic fulfillment of a contract obligation; his correspondence did not reflect any acknowledgement that marriage should be only a minor consideration, if considered at all, for both prospective male and female teachers, or more importantly, an acknowledgement that men and women teachers should enjoy exactly the same rights, privileges and opportunities.[264]

The Edmonton Public School Board, faced with the Alberta goverment's refusal to amend the School Act, recognized the inevitable and backed down. However, in this case, as in so many others, economics was a more important dictator of hiring policy than the law. The percentage of women teachers who were married did not really begin to rise until the end of the decade--just at the time when all women were supposed to be retiring to the suburbs to raise begonias and babies. In 1950 nearly 40% of all female elementary teachers were married, compared to 27% earlier in the decade.

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[263] Edmonton Public School Board Minutes, October 19, 1943.
[264] Letter from John Barnett to Mrs. E.W.S. Kane, President, October 28, 1943, University Women's Club File, (Provincial Archives).

What is fascinating, of course, is how long it took the ATA to act on what was clearly an illegal policy on the part of the EPSB. Only the fortuitous combination of a teacher shortage, a strong woman on the ATA executive, and women teachers who were willing to test that policy resulted in change. However, that policy had been promoted by one of the largest school districts in the province for nearly thirty years, and it's more interesting to consider why the ATA refused to act rather than to celebrate when it finally did.

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